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Catalogue No. 694

Washington-Madison Papers

COLLECTED AND PRESERVED BY JAMES MADISON

Estate of J. C. McGUIRE, deceased, of Washington, D. C.

CONTAINING

HIGHLY IMPORTANT LETTERS FROM GENERAL WASHINGTON
RELATING TO THE REVOLUTION AND THE
CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

AND

HIS AUTOGRAPH "FAREWELL ADDRESS" LETTER.

ALSO

LETTERS OF EDMUND RANDOLPH, EDMUND PENDLETON, JOSEPH JONES,
JOHN ADAMS, THOMAS JEFFERSON, JAMES MONROE, JONATHAN
DAYTON, GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG, HENRY CLAY, AND
OTHER EMINENT STATESMEN, TO JAMES MADISON,

AS WELL AS JAMES MADISON'S OWN LETTERS

EMBRACING THE PERIOD OF THE STAMP-ACT TROUBLE, REVOLU-
TIONARY WAR, CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, WAR OF
1812, AND JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

ALSO

The remainder of the extraordinary collection of American historical letters and
documents, gathered for the purpose of illustrating Bancroft's History of
the United States, and Parkman's Works: containing many rare and
highly interesting letters of Signers of the Declaration of Inde-
pendence, Generals of the Revolutionary War, Members of
the Continental Congress, etc., etc., etc.

SOME OF WHICH HAVE SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ARNOLD'S TREASON

REV. JACOB DUCHÉ'S LETTER TO GENERAL WASHINGTON

RELICS OF WASHINGTON, OIL PORTRAITS, ETC.

To be sold in our Spacious Second-Story Salesroom,

Tuesday and Wednesday, AFTERNOON and EVENING

December 6th and 7th, 1892

Afternoon Session, 2.30 o'clock; Evening Session, 7.30 o'clock

Catalogue compiled and sale conducted
STAN. V. HENKELS

THOMAS BIRCH'S SONS
AUCTIONEERS
1110 CHESTNUT STREET

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PREFACE.

IT is impossible for us to give an adequate idea of the importance of this collection, in the few remarks which we here make, and our patrons will find that it will not be a waste of time to read carefully every line in the Catalogue, as it will give a more correct history of our country than can be gleaned from any published volume. We claim it to be *the greatest accumulation of historical material relating to the Revolutionary War, the formation of the Federal Union, and the second war with Great Britain, that has ever appeared in catalogue form.*

That portion included under the heading of "*The Washington-Madison Papers*" embraces the letters of *General George Washington* to Joseph Jones and James Madison, during the Revolutionary War and the Constitutional Convention, and also during his occupancy of the presidential chair; Joseph Jones being Washington's representative in the Continental Congress, and *James Madison* the leading spirit in constructing the *new Constitution*, these letters, therefore, cannot help but be interesting, and at the same time highly important as matter of history. In Washington's letters we find him—as a General, at the head of his army; as a Mediator, soothing the turbulent spirit of the soldiers with one hand, and with the other writing to Congress begging that the wrongs inflicted upon the army be righted; as a Statesman, even when on the field of battle, giving his views on the various modes for raising a revenue, and then pleading, in the most pathetic terms, for a *Federal Constitution and a free government* for the country that he had redeemed from the British yoke. He then appears as President of the United States, formulating rules and regulations, the same which have ever since been carried out by the chief executives of the nation. It was during the period of his first term as President that Washington wrote the famous letter to James Madison (included in this collection), requesting him to write a *valedictory address, from him to the people*, as he had fully made up his mind not to accept a second term. In this letter he informs Madison what he would like to have incorporated in the *farewell address*, thus making it the most interesting of all his letters.

The letters written to James Madison by Joseph Jones, Thomas Jefferson, Edmund Randolph and Edmund Pendleton, between 1770 and 1800, bring to light many important historical facts, that have long since been forgotten, relative to the Revolutionary War, the formation of the Constitution, the treaties with Great Britain and France and other foreign powers, and the various modes employed for establishing a national credit and currency.

The letters of James Madison are principally his autograph drafts of those written to various statesman during the time he was a delegate to the Continental Congress, a member of the Constitutional Convention and of the First Congress, Secretary of State, and President of the United States, and from Montpellier after he had retired to private life, and are replete with valuable information relating to the most important affairs of state.

There are also included in the same collection the letters of General John Armstrong to James Madison, from 1804 to 1812, as Minister to France during Jefferson's administration, as General of the Army of the United States and Secretary of War, during the War of 1812; Jonathan Dayton's anonymous and other letters to James Madison, relating to the conspiracy in the New England States to separate from the Union in case of a second war with Great Britain, and also formulating plans for the campaigns of the War of 1812; and many important letters from John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, James Monroe, Richard Rush, William C. Rives, and other statesmen, on public and private affairs.

The most important work from Madison's pen in the collection, is his *autograph copy of the minutes of the Constitutional Convention of 1787*.

All the letters and papers enumerated in this catalogue, from lots 1 to 139 inclusive, were purchased by the late J. C. McGuire, of Washington, D. C., from Payne Todd, son of Mrs. Dolly P. Madison, by her first husband, and are as important, if not more so, than those purchased from Mrs. Madison by the Government, and which were afterwards published by order of Congress.

The remainder of the Catalogue embraces the balance of that extraordinary collection of American historical letters and documents, gathered for the purpose of illustrating Bancroft's History of the United States, and Parkman's Works (a portion of which was included in our catalogue of April 5 and 6, 1892), containing

many rare and highly interesting letters of *signers of the Declaration of Independence, Generals of the Revolutionary War, members of the Continental Congress, etc.*, many of which have special reference to *Arnold's treason*, and other events during the struggle for independence, the second war with Great Britain, and the war with Mexico; also the remarkable letter written by the REV. JACOB DUCHÉ TO GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON, praying him to forsake the American cause; *John Adams's letter praising the citizens of Philadelphia* for their loyalty to the Government of the United States, and Franklin Pierce's noted letter to Hon. W. H. Seward, in answer to one in which he had been accused of belonging to a secret league to disrupt the Union.

The relics of General Washington consist of Books from his Library, a Study-Lamp, Knee-Buckles, Shotgun, the Communion Chalice used at his church (Christ Church, Alexandria), etc.

The portraits include original oil paintings of General Washington, by Gilbert Stuart and Charles Willson Peale, and a portrait of Washington painted on glass by a Chinese artist; also some few rare engravings.

This Catalogue has been compiled with a view to its use as a collection of historical facts from the pens of those who founded and supported the Government of the United States. Any peculiarity in the spelling, punctuation or phraseology of these letters and papers quoted, must be attributed to the original writer, not to the cataloguer, as they have, in all cases, been copied *verbatim et literatim et punctuatim*.

The letter from the executors of the estate of J. C. McGuire, (of which a fac-simile accompanies this Catalogue) states that all the papers belonging to that estate, herein mentioned, must be sold without reserve, an injunction that shall surely be followed, both in regard to those papers, and every other item in the Catalogue.

We are indebted to Mr. E. J. Bicking for the beautiful manner in which the Catalogue has been printed, as well to his assistant, Mr. D. V. Daly, for the efficient manner in which he has performed his task as proof-reader, and for the typographical arrangement. The Levytype Co., of Philadelphia, have enabled us to present the many correct and handsome reproductions with which the work is illustrated.

STAN. V. HENKELS.

Wm

Stam U S Herkels Es.

Manager The Beech &
Autograph Department
Dear

of Madison paper, please
Sals, are sold to Elmer W
J. C. McGinn of Washing
We desire the Sals to be
request you to do state
there may be no mis

Q

Washington DC Aug 9th 92

Wm O J Henrichs Esq.

Manager The Book & Son Book &
Autograph Department

Dear Sir

The collection
of Madison papers, placed in your hands for
sale, are sold to clear the estate of the late
J. C. McGuire of Washington DC

We desire the sale to be without reserve. &
request you to so state in the Catalogue that
there may be no misunderstanding in the premises

Very Truly

J. B. McGuire

J. D. McGuire

Executer of

J. C. McGuire



WASHINGTON'S LETTERS TO THE
HON. JOSEPH JONES AND THE
HON. JAMES MADISON, JUNIOR,
MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

- 1 Washington, General George. Letter Signed. Folio.
2 pages. In the handwriting of Colonel Tench Tilghman.

"Head Quarters, Middle Brook, 28th May, 1778.

"Brigadier Genl Knox

"Sir

"The knowledge you have of the general situation of the enemy makes it unnecessary I should enter into any further detail than barely to inform you—

"That their number at New York Staten and Long Island.—supposing the detachment which went to Virginia to consist of 2000 men, agreeable to the accounts I have received—amounts according to the best estimate I have been able to form to about 9000 men. At Rhode Island their strength is about 5 or 6000 men. Their remaining force in these States is in Georgia and Virginia—In addition to these, their whole influence is exerted to stimulate the Indians from one end of the Western frontier to the other against us, and reinforcements are expected from Europe. But what may be their precise destination or amount is uncertain—The current of intelligence points to New York and to at least 5000 men.

"Our own force and present disposition are pretty well known to you, but to give a more exact idea, I shall observe, that, besides the Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia troops now in this camp and the North Carolina troops at Paramus,—there are three Brigades of Massachusetts troops and one of Connecticut on the North River—one of the latter at Danbury and about 2500

Continental

Continental troops at Rhode Island. You will be able to form a sufficiently accurate judgment of the collective strength of these corps; but if you should wish for more precise information, you can obtain it by applying to me. The rest of our force except about 6 or 700 on the Ohio will be employed to the Westward against the Indians.—

“I can say scarcely any thing of the reinforcements we have reason to expect—The measures persuing by the several States to augment to their battalions and the success with which they are attended have as yet come but partially to my knowledge. I fear our prospects are very inconsiderable.

“Under this concise account of matters and taking a comprehensive view of our affairs in general—particularly the state of our supplies and the depreciation of our currency—I am to request you will favour me with your opinion of the plan of conduct which will be proper for us to pursue at this juncture for the advancement of the common cause and for the honor and interest of the American arms; in doing which, I shall be obliged by a very free and full communication of your sentiments—

“I am Sir

“Your most Obedt Servant

“GEO WASHINGTON”

2 Washington, General George. Letter Signed. Folio.
In the handwriting of Colonel Tench Tilghman.

“Head Quarters 23rd March 1779.

“*Brig. Genl Knox.*

“Dear Sir

“For the more speedy assembling of the Militia upon an imergency, I have agreed with the Field Officers in this and the next County to erect Beacons upon the most conspicuous Hills, the firing of which shall be Signals for them to repair to their different Alarm Posts—You will be pleased to have erected upon the Mountain in the Rear of Pluckemin, upon the place that shall seem most visible from the adjacent County. The Beacons are proposed to be built of Logs in the form of a Pyramid; 16 or 18 feet square at the Base, and about 20 feet in height, the inner part to be filled with Brush—Should there be occasion to fire it you shall have proper notice—

“Be pleased to send me one of the Copies of the last arrangement of the Ordnance department—

“I am Dear Sir

“Yr most obt Servt.

“GEO WASHINGTON”

“P. S. As the inclosed Resolve of Congress includes the Artillery I have transmitted to you, and request to order Returns to be made agreeable thereto—”

3 Washington, General George. Letter Signed. Folio.
In the handwriting of Colonel Tench Tilghman.

“Head Quarters, 12th April, 1779.

“*Brig. Gen. Knox*

“Dear Sir

“Inclosed you have the last General Return of Ordnance and Military Stores which I have received from the Board of War, of which you will take a Copy. There appears to me a very great deficiency of many articles, particularly of Small Arms, powder and Lead, But you will be pleased to examine it critically and report to me what are, in your opinion, wanting, that I may, without loss of time, lay the estimate before the Board of War.

“As you must be sensible of the necessity of keeping a Return of so disagreeable a complexion as much a secret as possible, be pleased to drop a hint of this kind to the person who copies it—

“I am Dear Sir

“Your most obt Servt

“GEO WASHINGTON”

- 4 Washington, General George. Letter Signed. Quarto.
2 pages. In the handwriting of Colonel Tench Tilghman.

"Head Quarters Middlebrook 4th May 1779.

"Brig Gen Knox

"D Sir.

"I inclose you a return which I received a few days ago from General Parsons—of arms and accoutrements, wanted for the troops at Reading.

"I wish you to take the most immediate measures on this occasion in your department, to have these, and all the deficiencies, in the troops stationed on the other side of the North River supplied from Springfield; having respect at the same time to the supplies which may be necessary for the other parts of the army, and proportioning the distribution accordingly.

"I am D Sir

"Your most obedient and hble Servt.

"GEO WASHINGTON "

- 5 Washington, General George. Letter Signed twice. Folio. 3 pages. In the handwriting of Colonel Tench Tilghman.

"Head Quarters, Middlebrook 27th May 1779.

"Brig Gen Knox

"Dr Sir

"I herewith transmit you an abstract of a letter from the board of War of the 24th inst; by which you will perceive, that the factory at Philadelphia turns out 60 or 70 cartridge boxes per day; and that the armory is in a situation to enter upon the repairs of arms.—You will be pleased to have the old cartridge boxes now in store, and those returned on the distribution of new ones sent forward to Philadelphia for the purpose which the board mentions and such arms as want repairs to the armory, agreeably to the recommendation of the board.

"Brigadier Genl Clinton writes me the 13th, that, 'the ammunition I applied for at Fishkill by virtue of Gen Knox's order, could not be all procured; the small quantity which could be spared, is on the way up, I am informed by letters from Col Chevers that it is not to be had at Springfield, but that he had sent to Boston for it, I have sent an express to hasten it up tho I am afraid it will not arrive in time.'

"I have given you the extract, that you may take the proper steps to have a supply at fish kill or its vicinity to answer any exigencies that may arise in this quarter.

"I am Dr Sir

"Your most hble Servt.

"GEO WASHINGTON

"P. S.—It is not my intention that you should send all the arms out of repair; but retain what you think our camp armours may be able to repair,—nor all the cartridge boxes, I wish to have a proportion of both for any occasional demand. In executing this order you will have reference to this restriction.

"GEO WASHINGTON "

- 6 Washington, General George. Letter Signed. Folio.

"To Brigadier General Knox

"Sir

"The situation of our affairs and the general prospects of the campaign require that the army should divest itself of every article that can be spared and take the field as light as possible—I am therefore of opinion, that not more than two light field pieces ought to be attached to each Brigade; and that the Park should be composed of a few pieces of the same sort—You will be pleased after reserving a sufficient number for these purposes to send all the overplus to some convenient place from which they may without difficulty be drawn, if a particular occasion should call for them. Easton perhaps may answer—

"Given at Head Quarters Middle

"Brook May 30th 1779.

"GEO WASHINGTON "

- 7 Washington, General George. Letter Signed. Quarto.
In the handwriting of Colonel Tench Tilghman.

"Head Quarters, Morris Town, June 4th 1779.

"General Knox

"Sir,

"By a letter this moment arrived from General McDougall dated two O'clock yesterday, the enemy were advancing in force towards the Continental Village.—The other part of their army on the West side were to move the same day to invest the Fort. On reconsideration, as some heavy cannon in our future operations may become essential, if you can possibly procure a sufficiency of horses to carry those at the Park with convenience and despatch, I wish them to join the army without delay—a careful officer will no doubt accompany them to avoid accidents on the route—

"The moment you can be
spared I wish to see you
in front of West Point."

"I am Dr Sir

"Your most obedt servt.

"GEO WASHINGTON"

- 8 Washington, General George. Letter Signed. Quarto.
In the handwriting of Colonel Tench Tilghman.

"Morristown 4th June 1779.

"Brig Gen Knox

"Dr Sir

"On the 2d instant a part of the enemy possessed themselves of the fort on Verplank's point, by capitulation—They are now throwing up some works on the point on this side.—It would appear from a number of circumstances that they mean to press their operations against the posts on the highlands.

"The militia are calling out for ammunition, and the supply for the army, as you know, is, far from being sufficient. I would therefore wish you to send on careful and active conductors to hasten forward to the army, a competent supply, from the nearest magazines.

"I am D Sir. Your most hble Servt.

"GEO WASHINGTON"

- 9 Washington, General George. Letter Signed. Folio.
2 pages. Franked with General Washington's signature
on address.

"Head Quarters, New Windsor, July 12th 1779.

"Brigadier Genl Knox

"Dear Sir

"I perceive by the last returns, that there is still a number of men wanting arms—In addition to this, I am informed we may shortly expect some new levies from Massachusetts and Connecticut particularly the latter, The men without arms will be rather an incumbrance—than a benefit. I request you will take every measure in your power to have a supply ready. For this purpose, you will hasten to the Army all such as are any where under your direction; and will write in urgent terms to the Board of War for a further supply if to be had. I wish you to make this an object of particular attention.

"I shall be glad to hear how Mrs. Knox is, to whom I beg my respectful compliments and best wishes for her health.

"I am Dear Sir

"Your most obedt Servt

"GEO WASHINGTON"

"P. S.—Since writing the above I have received information that the Massachusetts levies are assembling at Springfield & may soon be expected on

"G. W."

- 10 Washington, General George. Letter Signed. Folio.
2 pages.

"West Point, 20th Aug, 1779.

"Brig. Gen Knox.

"Sir

"I have received the reports from Major General McDougal Brigadier Du Portail and yourself of this date on the subject of the batteries cannon and ammunition necessary for the defence of West Point—

"The motive there suggested concurs with others to make me desire there should be a speedy and ample supply of powder at this post and in the vicinity—We cannot now undertake any operations however necessary, which may require a considerable expenditure of this article—from the present absolute scarcity of it—I am informed the arrival of a large quantity is momentarily expected. You will therefore please to write to the Board representing our situation and requesting in pressing terms, that in case of such arrival, no time may be lost in forwarding what you deem a competent supply, as well for offensive operations against the enemy's posts should they become adviseable as for the defence of this—

"You will at the same time have a sufficient number of cannon ball of proper sizes prepared for the same purposes that we may be at no loss on this account.

"I am with great esteem

"Sir

"Your most obedt Servt

"GEO WASHINGTON"

- 11 Washington, General George. Letter Signed. Folio.
In the handwriting of Colonel Trench Tilghman. With address.

"Head Quarters, West Point, 12th Nov., 1779.

"Genl Knox

"Dear Sir

"From present appearances, and the Season of the Year, there is little reason to believe, that a co-operation, with the French Admiral, can possibly take place. In consequence of this opinion, and to avoid as much as possible a further increase of expence, I have to request you to suspend such of your arrangements as were designed for this purpose, and which, unless this event were to take place, will be unnecessary, I reckon among these, particularly, the Business on which Col Stevens has been ordered. In your measures on this subject, which I wish to be immediate, although you stop the preparation, you will do it in such a manner as to preserve the Idea for which they were undertaken—I need not observe to you the expediency of preserving appearances till the determination of congress is known, to whom I have written on the Subject.

"I am Dear Sir

"Gen'l Green desires that the person

"Yr most obt Servt

who goes to Col Stevens may call upon him,"

"GEO WASHINGTON"

- 12 Washington, General George. Letter Signed. 4to. In the handwriting of Colonel Tench Tilghman.

"Head Quarters, Novemr 18th 1779.

"Genl Knox

"Dr Sir

"As the North Carolina Troops have orders to march immediately to the Southward, you will be pleased to direct the Company of Artillery belonging to that State to hold themselves in readiness to move with them—their route will hereafter be made known—and with respect to their pieces you will suffer them to carry them or not, as you see proper.

"P. S.—Col Clark will give the route"

"I am Dr Sir

"Yr mo obt Servt

"GEO WASHINGTON"

13 Washington, General George. Letter Signed. Folio.
3 pages.

"West Point. Nov 23rd 1779

"Brigadier General Knox.

"Dr Sir

"The ordnance and ordnance stores necessary for Fort Arnold and its dependencies you will please have allotted agreeably to a report made to me by yourself and General McDougall and Gen du Portail. And where the artillery can be planted with propriety and safety on account of the unfinished state of the out works to have it done accordingly

"The posts at Kings-ferry should be immediately supplied with two pieces of cannon (one on each side the river) to keep off the enemy's row gallies which are beginning to appear there,—when the works are in a more complete state of defence, such further aid of artillery as shall be judged absolutely necessary, may be added, tho' it is not my intention to place many at this post, but my wish to have those which are there of the least valuable of their kind.

"The rest of the ordnance and ordnance stores which the prospect of an extensive operation against New York had drawn to this place, and in the vicinity of it, upon, or very near the river, I would have sent to Albany on account of the easy and cheap transportation, and because it may be considered as a safe deposit for them.

"In a removal of this kind a proper attention must be had to the probable and contingent wants of the army at its places of cantonment.

"You will please to direct (if it is not already done) the company of artificers at Fredericksburg commanded by Cap'n Post to be withdrawn from that place as also all other small detachments of a similar nature and under similar circumstances and have them more connected, as a number of small and separate detachments involve considerable expence with respect to the issues of provisions &c.; while their labor possibly, might be employed to greater advantage, if they were more compact, and under a more general and frequent inspection

"I am Sir

"Your most obt Servt

"GEO WASHINGTON"

14 Washington, General George. Letter Signed. Folio.
In the handwriting of Colonel Tench Tilghman.

"Morris Town Dec 8th 1779

"Brigadier General Knox.

"Sir.

"From more particularly conversing with Col Laurens, I find the Southern department is not very amply supplied with field artillery and that a few pieces from hence will be very useful. I am therefore to desire you will detail six six pounders to march with the Virginia troops which have orders to move immediately—If you cannot spare artillery-men to accompany them, you will at least write to Col Harrison directing him to send a proper number of officers out of those who lately went from the army—The officers will repair to South Carolina and take General Lincoln's orders—I wish to observe as much secrecy as we can, concerning the succours we are sending Southward.

"Dr Sir

"Your most obet servant

"GEO WASHINGTON"

Washington's Letter referring to the Arrival of La Fayette and the intentions of the French Court.

15 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter
Signed. Folio. 4 pages.

" Morris-town May 14th 1780.

" *Hon Joseph Jones, Esq.*

" Dear Sir (Private)

" I received the acc't of your delegation with much satisfaction & was greatly pleased to hear of your arrival in Philadelphia—as I have ever placed you among the number of my friends I mean to take this early opportunity of giving you a mark of my confidence in an interesting moment.—

" The arrival of the Marquis de la Fayette opens a prospect w'ch offers the most important advantages to these states if proper measures are adopted to improve it.—He announces an intention of his Court to send a Fleet and Army to co-operate effectually with us.

" In the present state of our Finance, and in the total emptiness of our magazines a plan must be concerted to bring out the resources of the country with vigor and decision—This I think you will agree with me cannot be effected if the measures to be taken should depend on the slow deliberations of a body so large as Congress admitting the best disposition in every member to promote the object in view—It appears to me of the greatest importance, & even of absolute necessity that a *small* committee should be immediately appointed to reside near head Quarters vested with all the powers which Congress have so far as respects the purpose of a full co-operation with the French fleet & army on the *continent*—There authority should be Plenipotentiary to draw out men & supplies of every kind & give their sanction to any operations which the Commander-in-chief may not think himself at liberty to undertake without it as well beyond, as within the limit of these states.

" This committee can act with dispatch and energy—by being on the spot it will be able to provide for exigencies as they arise and the better to judge of their nature & urgency—The plans in contemplation may be opened to them with more freedom and confidence than to a numerous body—where secrecy is impossible—where the indiscretion of a single member by disclosing, may defeat the project.

" I need not enlarge on the advantages of such a measure as I flatter myself they will occur to you and that you will be ready to propose and give it your support—The conjuncture is one of the most critical & important we have seen—all our prudence & exertions are requisite to give it a favourable issue—Hesitancy and delay would in all probability ruin our affairs—circumstanced as we are the greatest good or the greatest ill must result.—we shall probably fix the independencce of America if we succeed and if we fail the abilities of the state will have been so strained in the attempt that a total relaxation and debility must ensue and the worst is to be apprehended.—

" These considerations should determine Congress to forego all inferior objects and unite with mutual confidence in those measures which seem best calculated to insure success—There is no man who can be more useful as a member of the Committee than General Schuyler.—His perfect knowledge of the resources of the Country—the activity of his temper—His fruitfulness of expedients and his sound Military sense make me wish above all things he may be appointed.—a well composed committee is of primary importance—I need not hint that the delicacy of these intimations fit them only for your private ear—

" The opinion I have of your friendship induces me thus freely & confidentially to impart my sentiments on the occasion and I shall be very happy you may agree with me in judgment—I am with the greatest esteem & regard

" Dr Sir

" Yr obedt & affect'e

" Hble Servt

" GEO WASHINGTON "

Washington's Letter stating that "our Cause
is lost" unless Congress acts in a
more decisive manner with
the States.

- 16 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
(Signature cut off). Folio. 3 pages. With addressed
wrapper.

"Morris-Town, May 31st, 1780.

"Hon Joseph Jones

"Dear Sir

"I have been honored with your favor in answer to my letter respecting the appointment of a Com'ee and with two others of later date—The last containing Genl Woodford's acc't of the situation of things at Charles Town at the time of his writing—I thank you for them all.—Unhappily that place (Ch's Town)—the garrison in it &c (as appears by the New York account which I have transmitted to Congress) have been in the enemys hands since the 12th Inst—

"Certain I am that unless Congress speaks in a more decisive tone—unless they are vested with powers by the several States competent to the great purposes of war—or assume them as matter of right; and they, and the States respectively, act with more energy than they hitherto have done, that our Cause is lost.—We can no longer drudge on in the old way,—By ill timing the adoption of measures—by delays in the execution of them—or by unwarrantable jealousies, we incur enormous expences, and derive no benefit from them—one State will comply with a requisition of Congress—another neglects to do it—a third executes it by halves—and all differ in the manner—the matter—or so much in point of time, that we are always working up hill, & ever shall be (while such a system as the present one—or rather want of one—prevails) unable to apply our strength or resources to any advantage—

"This my dear Sir is plain language to a member of Congress—but it is the language of truth & friendship—It is the result of long thinking—close application—& strict observation—I see one head gradually changing into thirteen—I see one Army branching into thirteen—and instead of looking up to Congress as the supreme controlling power of the United States—are considering themselves as dependent upon their respective States.—In a word, I see the powers of Congress declining too fast for the consequence & respect which is due to them as the grand representative of America, and am fearful of the consequences of it.

"Till your letter of the 23rd came to hand I thought General Weedon had actually resigned his commission—but be this as it may, I see no possibility of giving him any command out of the line of his own State—He certainly knows that every state that has Troops enough to form a Brigade claims, and has exercised uniformly, the privilege of having them commanded by a Brig'r of its own, nor is it in my power to depart from this system without convulsing the Army; which at all times is hurtful, & may be ruinous at this,"

[Signature cut out].

Washington's Letter to Hon. Joseph Jones, vindicating himself against the unjust accusations of Colonel Harrison.

17 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter
Signed. Folio. 8 pages.

“Head Quarters, Bergen County 22nd July 1780

“*Joseph Jones, Esq*

“Dear Sir

“Your favor of the 18th came to my hands last Night—considering the delicate situation in which I stand with respect to General Gates, I feel an unwillingness to give any opinion (even in a confidential way) in a matter in which he is concerned, lest my sentiments (being known) should have unfavourable interpretations ascribed to them by illiberal Minds—I will however state facts, & leave you to draw inferences, with respect to the promotion required

“Custom (for I do not recollect any resolve of Congress authorizing it) has established a kind of right to the promotion of Brigadiers in State lines (where there are Regiments, enough to require a Brig'r to command.—There can be no objection therefore to the Gent'n named, on this ground.

“By the practice of our Army, never less than four Regiments are placed in a Brigade, but in cases of necessity.—

“The quota of Regiments allotted to the state of Virginia originally, were 15—In the year 1778 there was an incorporation of some of them by the Committee of arrangement (sent to the White Plains) & approved, to the best of my recollection by Congress—This reduced them to ; one of which is now at Fort Pitt.—

“The State of Virginia at this time (since the recall of Weedon) has 4 Brig's in pay & two in actual Service—Those in Captivity will be injured if they should not return to actual command when they are exchanged; & they can have no command out of their own line,—nor can there be any in it if new B: are made.

“The State was about to raise 5000 Men, 4000 of which is, more than probably as many as they will get—& were I to form my judgment from our usual disappointments, & the customary deficiency in these cases, I should not expect 3000 Men.—

“At the request of Gov'r Jefferson & from a list of the Officers of the Virg'a Line (not in captivity) I have made a temporary formation of these Troops into Six (or as the case may be) Seven Regiments, till they are surcharged—there being Officers enough in the State for this purpose.

“The case of S—ns is not singular, it frequently happens—& in the nature of things must happen, while we depend upon Militia; & the appointment of officers of his Rank are in the Executive of each State—I have no doubt but that several instances of this kind will occur under my immediate command in the course of the Campaign (if our intended operation goes forward)—It is unavoidable, while we depend upon Militia for field Service.

“The Gent'n who is the subject of your Letter is a brave officer, and a well meaning man, but his withdrawing from Service at the time he did last year,

year, could not be justified on any ground—there was not, to my knowledge, the smallest cause for dissatisfaction—and the Season and circumstances were totally opposed to the measure, even if cause had existed, till matters assumed a different aspect than they wore at the time of his proffered resignation.—

“From this state of facts, which I believe to be candid & impartial, you will Judge of the propriety, or impropriety of the promotion in question, & act accordingly.—

“If any letter of mine to Col^o Harrison (speaker to the Virginia House of Delegates) could have a tendency to injure rather than promote the Service in which we are engaged, the operation of it & my intention, are as far apart as the North pole is from the South.—In May, after the Marquis’ arrival with assurances of speedy succour from France, I wrote to Col Harrison (which I had not done for many months before) and informed him—knowing the assembly was then sitting—of the totally deranged situation of our affairs—of our distresses—of the utter impracticability of availing ourselves of this generous aid, unless the States would rouse from the Torpor that had siezed them—and observed that

“This is a decisive moment—one (I will go further & say) *the most*”
 “important—America has seen, The Court of France has made a glorious”
 “effort for our deliverance, and if we dissappoint its intentions by our supine.”
 “ness we must become contemptible in the eyes of all mankind; nor can we”
 “after that venture to confide that our allies will persist in an attempt to es.”
 “tablish what it will appear we want inclination, or ability to assist them in”

“Every view of our circumstances ought to determine us to the most”
 “vigorous efforts; but there are considerations of another kind that should”
 “have equal weight.—The combined fleets of France & Spain last year were”
 “greatly superior to those of the enemy.—The enemy nevertheless sustained”
 “no material damage, and at the close of the campaign have given a very”
 “important blow to our allies.—This campaign the difference between the”
 “fleets from every acc’t I have been able to collect will be inconsiderable.—”
 “indeed it is far from clear that there will not be an equality—what are we”
 “to expect will be the case if there sh’d be another campaign?—In all prob.”
 “ability the advantage will be on the side of the English, & then what will”
 “become of America?—We ought not to deceive ourselves.—The mari.”
 “time resources of Great Britain are more substantial & real than those of”
 “France & Spain united.—The commerce is more extensive than that of both”
 “her Rivals; and it is an axiom that the Nation which has the most exten.”
 “sive commerce will always have the most powerful Marine—were these”
 “arguments less convincing the fact speaks for itself—her progress in the”
 “course of the last year is an incontestible proof.—”

“It is true France in a manner created a fleet in a very short space, and”
 “this may mislead us in the judgment we form of her Naval abilities.—But”
 “if they bear any comparison with those of G. Britain how comes it to pass”
 “that with all the force of Spain added she has lost so much ground in so”
 “short a time, as now to have scarcely a superiority.—We should consider”
 “what was done by France as a violent & unnatural effort of the Govern.”
 “ment, which for want of sufficient foundation cannot continue to operate”
 “proportionable effects.”

“In Modern Wars the largest purse must chiefly determine the event,—”
 “I fear that of the enemy will be found to be so.—Though the government”
 “is deeply in debt, & of course poor, the Nation is rich & their riches afford”
 “a fund which will not be easily exhausted.—Besides, their system of pub.”
 “lic credit is such, that it is capable of greater exertions than that of any”
 “other nation.—Speculatists have been a long time foretelling its downfall,”
 “but we see no symptoms of the catastrophe being very near.—I am per.”
 “suaded it will at least last out the war, & then in the opinion of many of”
 “the best politicians it will be a National advantage,—If the war should”
 “terminate successfully the Crown will have acquired such influence and”
 “power that it may attempt anything—and a bankruptcy will probably be”
 “made the ladder to climb to absolute authority,—Administration may per.”
 “haps wish to drive matters to this issue—at any rate they will not be re.”

“strained

"strained by an apprehension of it from forcing the resources of the State.—"
 "It will promote their present purposes on which their all is at stake, & it"
 "may pave the way to triumph more effectually over the constitution;—with"
 "this disposition, I have no doubt that ample means will be found to prose-"
 "cute the war with the greatest vigor"

"France is in a very different position. the abilities of her present"
 "financier has done wonders—By a wise administration of the Revenues"
 "aided by advantageous loans he has avoided the necessity of additional"
 "taxes.—But I am well informed—if the war continues another Campaign"
 "he will be obliged to have recourse to the Taxes usual in time of war,"
 "which are very heavy—& which the People in France are not in a condi-"
 "tion to endure for any duration,—When this necessity commences, France"
 "makes war on ruinous terms; and England from her individual wealth"
 "will find much greater facility in supplying her exigencies"

"Spain derives great wealth from her mines, but not so great as is gen-"
 "erally imagined—Of late years the profit to Governm't is essentially di-"
 "minished—Commerce and industry are the best mines of a Nation; both"
 "which are wanting to her—I am told her treasury is far from being so well"
 "filled as we have flattered ourselves—She also is much divided on the pro-"
 "priety of the war—There is a strong party against it—the temper of the"
 "Nation is too sluggish to admit of great exertions—& though the Courts"
 "of the two Kingdoms are closely linked together there never has been in"
 "any of their wars a perfect harmony of measures, nor has it been in this;"
 "which has already been no small detriment to the common Cause."

"I mention these things to show that the circumstances of our allies as"
 "well as our own, call for Peace; to obtain which we must make one great"
 "effort this Campaign.—The present instance of the friendship of the Court"
 "of France is attended with every circumstance that can render it important"
 "and agreeable that can interest our gratitude, or fire our emulation—If"
 "we do our duty we may even hope to make the campaign decisive on this"
 "Continent.—But we *must do our duty in earnest*—or disgrace & ruin"
 "will attend us—I am sincere in declaring a full persuasion, that the suc-"
 "cess will be fatal to us if our measures are not adequate to the emergency"

"The Committee of Congress in their late address to the several States"
 "have given a just picture of our situation—I very much doubt its making"
 "the desired impression and if it does not, I shall consider our lethargy as"
 "incurable.—The present juncture is so interesting, that if it does not pro-"
 "duce correspondent exertions, it will be a proof that motives of honor, pub-"
 "lic good & even self preservation, have lost their influence on our minds"

"If there is any thing in the foregoing quotation of my Letter to Col^o
 Harrison that could prejudice the Service, I must abide the consequences, for
 I certainly wrote what is recited—Not officially as you will readily perceive,
 out in a private letter to a friend, whose influence, together with that of every
 well wisher to the cause, I wanted to engage, as I thought it high time that
 every Engine should be at work.—The whole of what I wrote on the points
 you mention, are faithfully transcribed, that you may judge how far it could
 prejudice the Service—with the greatest esteem & regard

"I am. Dear Sir

"Yr aff'e Hble Servt

"GEO WASHINGTON"

"P. S.—The latter clause of the quotation of my letter to Col^o Harrison
 I am not *absolutely* certain was sent.—The original draught contained it, but
 I am in some doubt whether it was copied, or not.—This I mention that there
 may be no possible mis-information on my part"

Washington's Letter in which he strongly
protests against the suspension of Gen-
eral Greene from his command
by Congress "without a
proper tryal."

- 18 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Folio. 4 pages.

"Head Q'rs, Tappan Aug't 13th 1780

"Jos. Jones Esq

"Dear Sir.

"The subject of this letter will be confined to a single point.—I shall make it as short as possible, and write it with frankness.—If any sentiment therefore is delivered which might be displeasing to you *as a member of Congress* ascribe it to the freedom which is taken with you by a friend, who has nothing in view but the public good.—

"In your letter without date, but which came to hand yesterday, an idea is held up as if the acceptance of Genl Greene's resignation of the Qrs Master's department was not all that Congress meant to do with him.—If by this it is in contemplation to suspend him from his command in the line (of which he made an express reservation at the time of entering on the other duty) and it is not already enacted, let me beseech you to consider *well* what you are about before you resolve.

"I shall neither condemn, or acquit Genl Greene's conduct for the act of resignation, because all the antecedent correspondencies are necessary to form a right judgment of the matter; and possibly if the affair is ever brought before the public you may find him treading on better ground than you seem to imagine;—but this by the by—my sole aim at present is to advertize you of what I conceive would be the consequences of suspending him from his command in the line—a matter distinct from the other—without a proper tryal.

"A procedure of this kind must touch the feelings of every Officer—it will show in a conspicuous point of view the uncertain tenure by which they hold their commissions.—In a word it will exhibit such a specimen of power that I question much if there is an Officer in the whole line that will hold a Commission beyond the end of the Campaign if they do till then.—such an act in the most Despotic Government would be attended at least with loud complaints

"It does not require with you I am sure, argument at this late hour to prove that there is no set of Men in the United States (considered as a body) that have made the same sacrifices of their Interest in support of the common cause as the Officers of the American Army—That nothing but a love of their Country, of honor & a desire of seeing their labours crowned with success could possibly induce them to continue one moment in Service—That no Officer can live upon his pay—That hundreds having spent their little all in addition to their scanty public allowance, have resigned because they could no longer support themselves as officers—That numbers are at this moment rendered unfit for duty for want of cloathing, while the rest are wasting their property, and some of them verging fast to the gulph of poverty & distress,—

"Can it be supposed that men under these circumstances who can derive at best, if the contest ends happily, only the advantages which attend in equal proportion with others, will sit patient under such a precedent? surely they will not—For the measurc, not the man will be the subject of considera-

"tion;

tion; & each will ask himself this question—If Congress by its mere fiat, without enquiry, & without trial, will suspend one officer to-day—an officer of such high rank—may it not be my turn tomorrow—and ought I to put it in the power of any man, or body of men, to sport with my commission and character, & lay me under the necessity of tamely acquiescing, or by an appeal to the public expose matters which must be injurious to its interest?

“The suspension of Genls Schuyler & St Clair tho’ it was preceded by the loss of Ticonderoga &c, which contributed not a little for the moment to create prejudices against them, was by no means viewed with a satisfactory eye by many discerning men; altho as I have just observed it was supported in a manner by popular clamour—Certain I am then, that the one in contemplation will be severely reprobated by the Army.

“Suffer not my friend, if it is within the compass of your abilities to prevent it, so disagreeable an event to take place.—I do not mean to justify—to countenance or excuse in the most distant degree any expressions of disrespect which the Gentleman in question, if he has used any, may have offered to Congress, no more than I do any unreasonable matters he may have required respecting the Q. M Genl’s department, but as I have already observed, my letter is to prevent his suspension, because *I fear*—because *I feel* it must lead to very disagreeable & injurious consequences.—General Greene has his numerous friends out of the Army as well as in it—and from his character & consideration in the world, he might not, when he felt himself wounded in so summary a way, withhold from a discussion that could not at *least*, promote the public cause.—as a Military Officer he stands very fair, & very deservedly so, in the opinion of all his acquaintance.

“These sentim’ts are the result of my own reflection on the matter, & I hasten to inform you of them.—I do not know that Genl Greene has ever heard of the matter, & I hope he never may—nor am I acquainted with the opin’n of a single Officer in the whole Army upon the subject—nor will any tone be given by me,—It is my wish to prevent the proceeding, for sure I am it cannot be brought to a happy issue if it takes place—adieu—I am Yrs sincerely

“GEO WASHINGTON”

19 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Folio. 2 pages. With address.

“Head Q’rs, Sept 9th 1780

“Honl Joseph Jones Esq, of Congress at Philadelphia

“Dear Sir,

“I have heard that a new arrangement is about to take place in the Medical Department, and that it is likely, it will be a good deal curtailed with respect to its present appointments

“Who will be the persons generally employed I am not informed, nor do I wish to know;—however I will mention to you, that I think Doctrs Craik & Cochran from their services—abilities & experience—and their close attention, have the strictest claim to their Country’s notice, and to be among the first Officers in the Establishment.—

“There are many other deserving characters in the Medical line of the army, but the reasons for my mentioning the above Gentlemen are, that I have the highest opinion of them—and have had it hinted to me that the new arrangement might possibly be influenced by a spirit of party out of Doors, which would not operate in their favor.—I will add no more than that I am

“With the most perfect reg’d

“Dear Sir

“Yr most obdnt Servt.

“GEO WASHINGTON”

Washington's Letter censuring the French Forces for not moving against Arnold in Virginia at the time he directed.

20 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Folio. 4 pages.

"New Windsor Mar 24th 1781

"Hon Jos Jones

"Dear Sir,

"On my return from Newport 4 days since I found your favors of the 21st & 27th ult'o at my Quarters—

"I do not see that it is in my power to give any immediate relief to Doctr Lewis.—If he is considered as a prisoner of war (and the circumstances of the case only, which are unknown to me, can determine this) you must be sensible that a resolve of Congress and the invariable practice of the army are opposed to his being exchanged out of turn.—If on the other hand he is viewed in the light of a Passenger and Citizen I know not at this time (but will enquire of the Com'y of Prisoners) of any character in our possession who will apply in his Exchange even if priority of Capture, in this case also, should not be opposed to it.—Upon a full view of the circumstances, as far as I have knowledge of them, it appears to be one of those cases which come more properly before the State of Virginia than the United States, till the whole business of Exchanges goes through one channel; which is far from being the case at present, as the States individually give up no advantages they obtain by captures to the United States, though they are very frequently applying for them—especially in difficult cases.—

"It is a much easier matter for Congress, conformably to the wishes of distressed States, to call upon me to afford them aid, than to furnish me with the means of doing it.—the report of the Com'ee alluded to in your letter of the 21st may be adduced in proof of it; I had however, previous to the receipt of the resolve of (Congress consequent of Colo Harrison's representation of matters to the Southward, or knowledge of his being at Philadelphia) adopted the temporary relief which is now in operation—But—

"It is a misfortune which seems to attend all our measures to do things unseasonably—or rather to neglect the critical moment to do them.—Had the French Commanders at Rhode Island complied (in the first instance) with my request to send the whole Fleet, and a detachment from their Land force to Virginia, the destruction of Arnolds Corps must inevitably have been completed during the debilitated state of the British Fleet.—The enterprise is now bold and precarious—rendered more so by an unfortunate, and to me unaccountable delay of twenty four hours in their quitting Newport after it was said they were ready to Sail.—The wind & weather being as favourable to them, and as adverse to the Enemy in Gardners bay, as the powers of the Air could devise.—but—it ought to be our policy to make the most of their assistance without disgusting them by our censures, or reminding them of their mistakes.—for this reason it is I inform you, in confidence, that upon the first certain advice of the injury sustained by the British fleet I proposed the Expedition to Portsmouth, to consist of the whole fleet and a detachment of Land forces from both armies; assuring them that nothing could be done to effect without a co-operation by Land & Water—accordingly, that no time might be lost in waiting their answer I set about the formation of my own detachment, & had marched it off before I knew that a ship & two frigates *only* without Land Troops, had left Rhode Island; & which had it not been for the accidental meeting of the Romulus & the Vessels under its convoy, w'd have returned as they went.—

"The critical situation of affairs in Virginia, and North Carolina, produce anxious moments; and we wait impatiently for decisive acc'ts—God grant they may be favourable to us—but the face of things is much changed since

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Dear Sir,

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James Ma

I am sure you will not only move the
matter, but give it your support. —
For me, it only remains to feel for his
situation, and to assure you of the
sincere esteem & regard with which I
have the honor to be

Y^r Most Obed^t Serv^t.
G. Washington

James Madison Esq^r 2

Mount Vernon June 12th 1784

Can nothing be done com-
monly for poor Paine? — Must
to, & services of Common Sense
to glide down the stream of
rewarded by this Country? —
you certainly have had a
effect on the public mind,
they will then to meet an ade-
turn? — He is poor! — he is
need! — and almost, if not
in despair of relief. —
New York it is true, nor the
beset, nor best able State in
n, has done something for him
ind of provisions he prefers
advance from Congress — he
for it which to him are cer-
and such I think, as would
apt with others. — His ven-
erate — a decent independence
live, as he aims at. — Should
fair this? — If you think so

Sam

my first proposing the Expedition to Portsmouth; at that time the French were decidedly superior in their Navy—now they are unquestionably inferior—& should they get first into the Capes & be able to maintain a position in Hampton Road they will not have it in their power to prevent succours landing on Lynhaven bay—or Willoughbys point; if Clinton can afford such a detachment as will be able (with the cooperation of Arnold to force its way from thence to Norfolk in spite of the opposition which can be given by the French Troops and Militia) for their Frigates will stop all water transportation in the bay; consequently fix the Marquis's detachm't at Annapolis or compel them to a long & tedious Land march.—

"I was very glad to hear of Mr. Morris' appointment, & wish he may accept it; but cannot by any reasoning I am master of acc't for the postponing the choice of the Minister of War; which, in my opinion, is of all others the most essential; and ought least to be delayed

"I was much pleased to hear that Virginia has given up her claims to the Land west of Ohio—that the confederation was completed—and that the States seemed disposed to grant more competent powers to Congress—without a controuling power in that body, for all the purposes of war, it will be impossible to carry on the war—the reasons are many, & conclusive—but the want of room will not allow me to enumerate them, at this time—The most import't are obvious—The non compliance with the rec'd'm's of Congress in some States—the unseasonable compliance in time & manner by others—the heavy expence accumulated thereby to no purposz—the injury to some & the jealousy of all the States, proceeding from these causes; w'th the consequent dissatisfaction in people of every class from the prolongation of the war, are alone sufficient to prove the necessity of a controuling power.—without it, and speedily—we shall be thirteen distinct States; each pursuing its local intersts till they are all annihilated in a general crash of them,—The Fable of the bunch of Rods or sticks may well be applied to us.—

"I am Sin'ly & affect'y Yrs

"GEO WASHINGTON"

Washington's Letter Asking Financial Aid for "Tom Paine."

21 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Quarto. 2 pages.

"Mount Vernon June 12th 1784

"James Madison

"Dear Sir

"Can nothing be done in our assembly for poor Paine?—Must the Merits, & Services of *Common Sense* continue to glide down the stream of time, unrewarded by this Country?—His writings certainly have had a powerful effect on the public Mind;—ought they not then to meet an adequate return?—He is poor!—he is chagrined!—and almost, if not altogether, in despair of relief.—

"New York it is true, not the least distressed, nor best able State in the Union, has done something for him.—This kind of provision he prefers to an allowance from Congress—he has reasons for it, which to him are conclusive, and such I think, as would have weight with others.—His views are moderate.—a decent independence is, I believe, all he aims at.—Should he not obtain this?—If you think so I am sure you will not only move the matter, but give it your support.—For me, it only remains to feel for his situation, and to assure you of the sincere esteem & regard with which I have the honor to be

"Dr Sir

"Yr most obed & Hble Serv't

"GEO WASHINGTON"

Mount Vernon June 12th 1784

Dear Sir,

Can nothing be done in
our Assembly for poor Paine? — Must
the merits, & services of Common Sense
continue to glide down the stream of
time, unrewarded by this Country? —
His writings certainly have had a
beneficial effect on the public mind,
— could they not be met as ade-
quate returns? — He is poor! — he is
chartered! — and almost, if not
altogether, in despair of relief. —

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least assisted, nor best able state in
the Union, has done something for him.
— This kind of provision he prefers
to an allowance from Congress — he has
reasons for it which to him are con-
vincing, and such I think, as would
have weight with others. — His views
are moderate — a decent independence
is, I believe, all he aims at. — Should
he not obtain this? — If you think so

I am

Washington's Letter lauding the military abilities of La Fayette, and arguing against Vermont being admitted into the Union.

22 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Quarto. 8 pages.

“ Head Qrs. near Dobbs' Ferry, 10 July 1781.

“ Dear Sir.

“ Your favor of the 20th ult^o by Post, came to my hands the evening before I marched for this part of the Country—The attention necessary to these kind of movements occupy all ones time, and must plead my excuse for not answering your favor sooner—I question now, whether I shall be able to write so satisfactorily as *I could* wish, or as *you* may expect.—

“ I thank you for the promise of writing to Col^o R. H. Lee—and if your letter to him should not have been dispatched, you would add to the obligation by doing it fully, as it will not be in my power to write so much in detail as I could wish, shortly,—You must be much unacquainted with the true state of Sheldon's Regiment, and the Marischausi Corps when you apply to have them sent to the Southward—the first is yet to raise, and the last is about to disband; and besides, is very deficient in Horses—without a State to adopt them—or the means of purchasing.—Sheldon has but 60 Horses in all, and only 25 of these accoutred—To the State of Connecticut he looks up for the rest—These Horses are to perform the duties of Expresses—Patroles—and the ordinary duties of the Field; while the Marischausi Corps consists of no more than abt 40 men & half ye N^o of Horses; 12 of which are with me, and from the smallness of the number are continually on duty—carrying orders to one part and another of the Camp—Judge you therefore of the impracticability of deriving succour from either of these corps,—why Moylan's Dragoons are withheld from that Service, you must be better informed of than I am.—

“ The complaints against the Baron de Steuben are not more distressing than unexpected, for I always viewed him in the light of a good officer—If he has formed a junction with the Marquis, he will be no longer Master of his own conduct, of course the clamours against him will cease with his command—from General Greene's Letters I had little doubt but that he would have been in Virginia ere this—powerful causes may have detained him; but I am persuaded he will be there as soon as possible, as it is within his command, and now the principal theatre of action—In the mean while I am afraid to give any order in that quarter lest it should clash with his views, & produce confusion—I shall however write fully to him in the course of a few days upon the several matters contained in your letter—and till his arrival, it is my opinion, the command of the Troops in that State cannot be in better hand than the Marquis's—He possesses uncommon Military talents—is of a quick, & sound judgment—persevering—and enterprising without rashness—and besides these, he is of a very conciliating temper & perfectly sober, which are qualities that rarely combine in the same person; & were I to add that some men will gain as much experience in the course of three or 4 years, as some others will in ten or a dozen, you cannot deny the fact, and attack me upon that ground.—

“ To relate facts, will be a sufficient expression of my mortified situation—A third of July is past!—My former letters gave Congress a return of

“ all

all the Recruits who had joined the army by the first of June—My present letter to them shows the number which have come in since—The Q Master's & Commissary's departments must be supplied from these, or their business must stand; No Militia are yet come in, though some were pressingly called for to strengthen West point & our Northern Front's, that I might draw my Continental force as much as possible to a point; and other things drag on like a Cart without wheels; but as far as my exertions can go the operations of the campaign shall be hastened—My friends will make allowances—My enemy's will censure—and I shall have the consolation of knowing that my whole time & attention is devoted to the public service, however short I may fall of its expectation

"I have just received a letter from Col^o Laurens (at the Court of Versailles) with the inclosed intercepted Letters from the Minister (Lord Germaine)—I persuade myself copies are transmitted to Congress; but as there is a possibility of miscarriage I transmit mine, to be made use of as occasion requires—a publication of them with proper comments, would, undoubtedly, answer very valuable purposes. as the Ministers sentiments respecting our Government &c &c. are too obvious to be mistaken, & must be too alarming to those who are panting for the old Constitutions, to be explained away or relished.—

"For a considerable time past I have had strong suspicions and uneasy moments on acc't of the People of Vermont—I have at different times been on the point of communicating them to Congress,—but motives of delicacy have restrained me—convinced I am that these people w'd become a formidable barrier if they were made a separate State—equally convinced I am, that Neutrality is the most we have to expect from them if they are not.—I do not enter into the justice of their claim, because I am unacquainted with the merits of it;—tis to the expediency & policy only I speak—at present, that State gives protection, & is an asylem to all deserters—to every person who wishes to avoid taxation &c by which means their strength is augmented in proportion to our loss—and the Manner in w'ch they mean to apply it is very equivocal

"I have not since I have viewed the affairs of those people in the light here described, missed any opportunity of expressing my apprehensions to individual members of Congress who have passed through the army; and this I thought was as far as I could with propriety go—I do not now believe that the people, as a body, have any evil intention, but I firmly believe that some of their leaders have, and that they will prevent us from deriving aid, though they may not be able to turn the arms of their Countrymen against us.—

"I have this instant received your favor of the 3rd, inclosing my old friend Cary's Narrative of the transactions in Virginia—I am happy to find such a spirit prevailing in the Country; & thank you for the perusal of his letters as they contain the fullest & most authentic acc'ts I have had from that quarter.—

"I am with much truth

"D'r Sir

"Yr most obedt & affec

"P. S. I need not

say that this letter

is written in haste—

the marks of it are too

evident to require such a

declaration"

"Scrvt

"GEO WASHINGTON "

Washington's Letter defending the military
for complaining on account of the mem-
bers of Congress getting all their
salary and they only part
payment.

- 23 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Quarto. 3 pages. [Signature cut off].

"Newburgh 14th Dec. 1782.

"*Hon Joseph Jones*

"Dear Sir,

"In the course of a few days Congress will, I expect, receive an address from the Army on the subject of their grievances

"This address, tho' couched in very respectful terms, is one of those things which tho' unpleasing, is just now unavoidable.—for I was very apprehensive once, that matters would have taken a more unfavourable turn from the variety of discontents w^{ch} prevail at this time.—The temper of the army is much soured, and has been more irritable than at any other period since the commencement of the war.—this consideration alone prevented me (for every thing else seemed to be in a state of inactivity, & almost tranquility) from requesting leave to spend this winter in Virginia, that I might give some attention to my neglected private concerns.—

"The dissatisfactions of the Army had arisen to a great & alarming height,—& combinations among the officers to resign in a body—at given periods—were beginning to take place, when by some address & management their resolutions have been converted into the form, in which they will now appear before Congress—What that Hon^{ble} Body can, or will do in the matter, does not belong to me to determine; but policy in my opinion should dictate soothing measures, as it is an incontrovertible fact, that no part of the community has undergone equal hardships and borne them with the same patience and fortitude that the Army has done.—Hitherto the Officers have stood between the lower order of the Soldiery & the public—& in more instances than one have quelled, at the hazard of their lives, very dangerous mutinies,—but if their discontents should be suffered to rise equally high, I know not what the consequences may be.

"The spirit of enthusiasm which overcame every thing at first, is done away—it is idle therefore to expect more from Military Men than from those discharging the civil offices of Government.—If both were to fare equally alike with respect to the emoluments of Office I would answer for it that the Military character should not be the first to complain.—but it is an invidious distinction, and one that will not stand the test of reason or policy, that one set should receive all and the other no part (or that which is next to it) of their pay; In a word the experiment is dangerous, and tho' it should succeed, would only prove that the one is actuated by more Zeal than the other, not that they have less occasion for their money,

[*Signature cut out*].

Washington's Letter advising against using the military to compel Vermont to submit to the Continental Congress.

- 24 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Folio. 4 pages. With fine signature on
franked address.

"Newburgh, Feby 11th 1783.

"The Hon Jos Jones. In Congress, Philadelphia.

"Dear Sir,

"I am about to write you a letter on a subject equally important and delicate—which may be extensive in its consequences & serious in its nature—I shall confine myself to the recital, of what I believe to be facts, & leave it with you to draw deductions.—

"The printed remonstrance of Mr. Chittenden & his Council, addressed to the President of Congress—& founded upon the resolves of the 5th of December last, contains a favourable recital in their own behalf of what I suppose to be facts; but if my memory serves me, it is an uncandid performance, in as much as it keeps out of view an important transaction of theirs consequent of those Resolves.—be this as it may, Matters seem to be approaching too fast to a disagreeable Issue for the quiet of my Mind.—The Resolves on one hand & the Remonstrance on the other, unless it should be annulled by their Legislature at their next meeting, which I do not expect, seems to leave little room for an amicable decision.—

"Matters being thus situated, permit me to ask how far, and by what means coercion is to be extended?—The Army I presume will be the answer to the latter.—Circumstances alone, for no determinations when blood is once drawn, can prescribe bounds to the former—It has been said, but of this you can judge better than I, that the Delegates from the New England States in Congress—or the majority of them—are willing to admit these People into the Union as an Independent & Sovereign State—Be this as it may, two things I am sure of—viz—that they have a powerful interest in those states—and have pursued very politic measures to strengthen & increase it, long before I had any knowledge of the matter—and before the tendency of it was seen into or suspected; by granting upon very advantageous terms, large Tracts of Land—in which I am sorry to find the army in some degree have participated.

"Let me next ask,—by whom is that district of Country principally settled?—and of whom is your present army (I shall not confine myself to this part of it, but extend it to the whole) composed?—The answer is evident—New England men.

"It has been the opinion of some that the appearance of force would awe these People into submission—If the General Assembly should ratifie & confirm what Mr Chittenden & his Council has done, I shall be of a very different sentiment.—and moreover that it is not a trifling force that will subdue them, even supposing they do derive no aid from the Enemy in Canada—and that it will be a very arduous task indeed, if they should—to say nothing of a diversion which may, & doubtless will be created in their favor from New York, if the war with G. Britain should continue.—

"The Country is very Mountainous, full of Defiles and very strong.—The Inhabitants for the most part are a hardy Race, composed of that kind of People who are best calculated for soldiers—in truth who are Soldiers—for many, many hundreds of them are Deserters from this Army who having acquired property there, would be desperate in the defence of it, well knowing they are fighting with halts about their necks:

"It may be asked if I am acquainted with the Sentiments of the Army on the subject of this dispute?—I readily answer no:—not intimately,—it is

"a matter

a matter of too delicate a nature to agitate for the purpose of information—but I have *heard* many officers of Rank & discernment, I have learnt by indirect enquiries, that others, express the utmost horror at the very idea of shedding blood in an affair of this sort,—comparing it in its consequences, tho' not in principles, to the quarrel with Great Britain, who thought it was only to hold up the rod & all would be hurt!—I cannot at *this time* undertake to say there would be any difficulty with the Army if it should be ordered upon this Service, but I should be exceedingly unhappy to see the experiment made,—for besides the reasons before suggested, I believe there would be great unwillingness in it to embrue their hands in the Blood of their Brethern.—

“I have to add, that almost at the same instant, a number of the Printed copies of the Remonstrance were disseminated thro' every part of the Army—I do not know what effect it may have, but the design is obvious.

“I promised in the beginning of this letter that I would content myself with a simple relation of facts—I shall therefore only lament that Congress did not in the first commencement of this dispute, act decidedly—this matter, as you well know was much agitated last winter & a committee of Congress with whom I had the honor to be in conference, and of which I believe you were one, saw Mr Chittendens letter to me,—& approved of my writing him an answer to the effect it was given.—With great esteem & regard (and in much haste as Col^o Pickering is waiting

“I am Dr Sir

“Yr most obedt & affect Ser

“P. S.—Altho' there can

“GEO WASHINGTON”

be no doubt of Congress

having received the remon-

strance, alluded to in this letter

I send, nevertheless, one of the printed

copies

“G W.”

Washington's Letter accusing certain gentlemen from Philadelphia (Gouverneur Morris and Walter Stewart) of trying to create an uprising of the militia against Congress, and begging that the troops be paid in scrip, if not in cash, before disbanding.

- 25 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter. Signed. Folio. 4 pages. With addressed wrapper, from which the franked signature has been cut off.

“Newburgh 12th March 1783

“*The Hon'ble Joseph Jones. In Congress, Philadelp^a*

“Dear Sir

“I have received your letter of the 27th Ult^o, & thank you for the information & freedom of your communication.—My official letter to Congress of this date will inform you what has happened in this Quarter.—In addition to which, it may be necessary it sh'd be known to you & to such others as you may think proper, that the temper of the army, tho' very irritable on acc't of their long protracted sufferings, has been apparently extremely quiet while

“their

their business was depending before Congress, untill four days past.—in the mean time it should seem, Reports have been propagated in Philadelphia that dangerous combinations were forming in the Army, & this at a time when there was not a syllable of the kind in agitation in Camp.

“It also appears that upon the arrival of a certain Gentleman from Philadelphia, in Camp, whose name I do not at present incline to mention, such sentiments as these were immediately & industriously circulated.—That it was universally expected that the Army would not disband untill they had obtained justice.—That the public creditors looked up to them for Redress of their grievances, would afford them every aid, and even join them in the field, if necessary.—That some members of Congress wished the measure might take effect; in order to compel the public—particularly the delinquent States, to do justice.—with many other suggestions of a similar nature, from whence and a variety of other considerations it is generally believed the scheme was not only planned, but also digested & matured in Philadelphia, and that some people have been playing a double game—spreading at the Camp, & in Philadelphia reports, and raising jealousies equally void of foundation, untill called into being by the vile artifices.—for as soon as the Minds of the Officers were thought to be prepared for the transaction, an anonymous invitation was circulated requesting a general meeting of the Officers next day—at the same instant, many copies of the address to the Officers of the Army was circulated in every State line of it.

“So soon as I obtained knowledge of these things, I issued the order of the 11th (transmitted to Congress;) in order to rescue the foot that stood wavering on the precipice of despair, from taking those steps which would have led to the abyss of Misery, while the passions were inflamed and the mind tremblingly alive with the recollection of past sufferings, and their present feelings.—I did this upon the principle that it is easier to divert from a wrong to a right path, than it is to recall the hasty & fatal steps which have been already taken.—

“It is commonly supposed, if the Officers had met agreeable to the anonymous summons, resolutions might have been formed, the consequences of which may be more easily conceived than expressed.—Now, they will have leisure to view the matter more calmly & seriously.—It is to be hoped they will be induced to adopt more rational measures, and wait awhile longer for the settlement of their acc'ts; the postponing of which gives more uneasiness in the Army than any other thing.—there is not a man in it, who will not acknowledge that Congress have not the means of paying him.—but why not say they—one & all—liquidate the acc'ts, & certify our dues?—Are we to be disbanded & sent home without this?—are we afterwards to make individual applications for such settlements at Philadelphia, or at any Auditing Office in our respective States;—to be shifted perhaps from one board to another, & dance attendance at all; & finally be postponed till we loose the substance, in pursuit of the shadow.—While they are agitated by these considerations, there are not wanting insidious characters who tell them ‘it is neither the’
“wish nor intention of the public to settle your acc'ts, but to delay them”
“under one pretext or another till peace, which we are upon the verge of,—”
“& a separation of the Army takes place; when it is well known, it will be”
“difficult if not impracticable, a general settlement can be accomplished;”
“and that individual loss *in this instance* will be a public gain.’—

“However derogatory these ideas are to the dignity, honor & justice of government; yet in a matter so interesting to the Army, & at the same time so easy to be effected by the public as that of liquidating the acc'ts, is delayed, without any apparent or obvious necessity; they will have their place in a mind that is sound, & has become irritable.—Let me entreat you therefore, my good Sir to push this matter to an issue—and if there are Delegates among you, who are really opposed to doing justice to the Army, scruple not to tell them—if matters do come to extremety—that they must be answerable for all the ineffable horrors which may be occasioned there by.—

“With great truth and sincerity

“I am—Dr Sir

“Yr Most Obed't &

“affec't Serv't

“GEO WASHINGTON”

Washington's Letter pleading in pathetic terms that justice (in the way of pay for their services) be done the army.

26 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter. Folio. 3 pages. [Signature cut out].

"Newburgh 18th March 1783.

"Hon Joseph Jones

"The Storm, which seemed to be gathering with unfavourable prognostics—when I wrote to you last—is dispersed; and we are again in a state of tranquility—But do not, My dear Sir, suffer this appearance of tranquility to relax your endeavors to bring the requests of the Army to a conclusion.—Believe me, the Officers are too much pressed by their present wants, & are rendered too sore by the recollection of their past sufferings to be touched much longer upon the string of forbearance, in matters wherein they can see no cause for delay—Nor would I have further reliance placed on any influence of mine to dispel other clouds if more should arise from the causes of the last.—

"By my official letter to Congress, and the papers inclosed in it, you will have a full view of my assurances to, and the expectations of the Army; and I persuade myself that the well wishers to both—and of their Country, will exert themselves to the utmost to irradicate the Seeds of distrust, & give every satisfaction that justice requires, and the means which Congress possess will enable them to do.—

"In a former letter I observed to you, that a liquidation of acc'ts in order that the Ballances might be ascertained is the great object of the Army, and certainly nothing can be more reasonable.—To have these Ballances discharged at this, or in any short period—however desirable, they know is impracticable.—and do not expect it; altho,' in the meantime, they must labour under the pressure of those sufferings which is felt more sensibly by a comparison of circumstances.—

"The situation of these Gentlemen merit the attention of every thinking and grateful mind—As Officers, they have been *obliged* to dress & appear in character.—to effect this, they have been *obliged* to anticipate their pay, or participate their Estates.—By the first, debts have been contracted.—By the latter, their Patrimony is injured.—To disband men therefore under these circumstances, before their accounts are liquidated, and the Ballances ascertained, would be to sett open the doors of Goals, and then to close them upon seven years faithful & painful services.—Under any circumstances which the nature of the case will admit, they must be considerable sufferers., because necessity will compell them to part with their certificates for whatever they will fetch, to avoid the evil I have mentioned above.—And how much this will place them in the hands of unfeeling—avaricious speculators, a recurrence to past experience will sufficiently prove.—

"It may be said by those who have no disposition to compensate the Services of the Army, that the Officers have more foresight than to place dependence (in any alternative) upon the strength of their own arm—I will readily concede to these Gentlemen that no good could result from such an attempt, but I hope they will be equally candid in acknowledging, that much mischief may flow from it—and that nothing is too extravagant, to expect from men, who conceive they are ungratefully & unjustly dealt by.—especially too, if they can suppose that characters are not wanting to foment every passion which leads to discord—and that they are——but,——time shall reveal the rest.—

"Let it suffice, that the very attempt would imply a want of justice, and fix an indelible stain upon our National character; as the whole World—as well from the Enemies publications (without any intention to serve us) as our own, must be strongly impressed with the sufferings of this Army from hunger, cold and nakedness in almost every stage of the War.

[Signature cut off].

- 27 Washington, General George. Copies of the above two letters (Nos. 25 and 26) in the handwriting of Jas. Madison. Quarto. 4 pages.

In Mr. Madison's copy of the first letter (No. 25) he has supplied the names of the gentlemen from Philadelphia whom Washington was not inclined to mention, to wit: *Gouverneur Morris* and *Walter Stewart*.

Washington's Letter speaking of his intention to accompany La Fayette to New York, prior to his embarkation for France.

- 28 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter. Signed. Quarto. 3 pages. With addressed wrapper to "James Madison, Esquire; or, in his absence, Joseph Jones, Esquire, at Richmond."

"Mount Vernon 28th Nov'r, 84.

"Gentlemen

"After the several conversations we have had on the subject of inland Navigation; and the benefit which would, probably, be derived from a commercial intercourse with the Western territory; I shall make no apology for giving you the trouble of the enclosed.

"It is matter of regret to me, however, that I cannot accompany them with some explanations & observations.—It was intended these Papers should have met me at Richmond.—They missed me on the road thither.—travelled back to Baltimore—Returned—and were put into my hands at the moment I was setting off for Annapolis; to which place I mean to accompany the Marq's de la Fayette on his return to New York, where he expects to embark about the middle of next month, for France.—

"I could not think of withholding these Papers until my return, as I shall probably accompany the Marquis from Annapolis to Baltimore.—Therefore, in the order I receive, I send them to you.—Your own judgments in this business will be the best guide.—but in one word, it should seem to me, that if the public cannot take it up with efficient funds, & without those delays which might be involved by a limping conduct, it had better be placed in the hands of a corporate Company.—What encouragements, and what powers, to give this Company, deserves all that consideration which I persuade myself you, Gentlemen, will bestow

"The Maryland Assembly is now sitting.—If I should return in time, I will have the honor of writing to you again on this subject.—in the mean while, if your leisure will permit, I should be glad to know your Sentiments on, and what will be the issue of, this business.—With very sincere esteem and regard

"I have the honor to be

"P. S.—As your Assembly "Gent'n

are upon a Military

"Yr Most obed't Hble Ser

Law I send you the

"GEO WASHINGTON"

thoughts of the Baron

de Steuben which I found

here upon my return from Richmond

"G. W."

Washington's "Head-Ache Letter."

29 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Folio. 3 pages.

NOTE.—This letter, from the blots and erasures throughout, portrays the indomitable will of the man and the agony he suffered while writing it; and is, without a doubt, one of the most characteristic examples of his penmanship.

"James Madison Esq

"Annapolis 28th Dec'r. 1784

"Dear Sir

"I have been favored with your letter of the 11th

"The proceedings of the conference, and the Act & Resolutions of this Legislature consequent thereupon (herewith transmitted to the Assembly) are so full & explanatory of the motives which governed in this business, that it is scarcely necessary for me to say any thing in addition to them; except that this State seem highly impressed with the importance of the objects w^{ch} we have had under consideration,—and are very desirous of seeing them accomplished.—

"We have reduced most of the Tolls from what they were in the first Bill, and have added something to a few others.—upon the whole, we have made them as low as we conceived from the best information before us, and such estimates as we had means to calculate upon, as they can be fixed, without hazarding the plan altogether.—We made the value of the commodity the governing principle in the establishment of the Tolls;—but having had an eye to some bulky articles of produce & to the encouragement of the growth & Manufacture of some others, as well as to prevent a tedious enumeration of the different species of all, we departed from the gen'l rule in many instances.—

"The rates of tollage as now fixed, may still appear high to some of the Southern Gentlemen, when they compare them with those on James River; but as there is no comparison in the expence & risk of the two undertakings, so neither ought there to be in the Tolls,—I am fully persuaded that the Gentlemen who were appointed, and have had this matter under consideration, were actuated by no other motives than to hit (if they could do so) upon such a happy medium as would not be burthensome to indiv's or give jealousy to the public on one hand, nor discouragement to adventurers on the other.—

To secure success, and to give vigor to the undertaking, it was judged advisable for each State to contribute (upon the term of private subscribers) to the expence of it; especially as it might have a happy influence on the minds of the Western Settlers.*

"Though there is no obligation upon the State to adopt this (if it is inconvenient, or repugnant to their wishes) yet, I should be highly pleased to hear that they had done so (our advantages will, most assuredly, be equal to those of Maryland and our public spirit ought not, in my opinion, to be less)—as also the Resolutions respecting the Roads of Communication—both of which, tho' they look in some degree to different objects, are both very important;—That by the Yohiogany (thro' Pennsylvania) is particularly so for the Fur & Peltry of the Lakes, because it is the most direct rout by which they can be transported, whilst it is exceedingly convenient to the people who inhabit the Ohio (or Alligany) above Fort Pitt—the lower part of the Monongahela—and all the Yohiogany.—

"Matters might perhaps have been better digested if more time had been taken, but the fear of not getting the report to Richmond before the Assembly would have risen, occasioned more hurry than accuracy—or even real dispatch.—But to alter the Act now, further than to accommodate it to circumstances where it is essential, or to remedy an obvious error if any should be discovered will not do.—The Bill passed this Assembly with only 9 dissenting voices—and got thro' both Houses in a day, so earnest were the Members of getting it to you in time.—

"It is now near 12 at Night, and I am writing with an Aching head, having been constantly employed in this business since the 22d, without assistance from my Colleagues—Gen'l Gates having been sick the whole time & Col^o Blackburn not attending.—But for this I would be more explicit

"I am, with great esteem &

"I am ashamed
to send such a letter
but cannot give you
a fairer one.—"G. W."

"regard—Dr Sir

"Yr Most obed^t Serv^t

"GEO WASHINGTON "

*And it may be observed here, that only part of this money can be called for immediately, provided the work goes on—and afterwards, only in the proportion of its progression.—

- 30 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Quarto. [Signature cut out].

"Mount Vernon Oct 22nd 1785

"James Madison Esq

"Dear Sir

"I thank you for the perusal of the enclosed reports—Mr Jay seems to have laboured the point respecting the Convention.

"If any thing should occur that is interesting, & your leisure will permit it, I should be glad to hear from you on the subject;

[Signature cut out].

Washington's Letter advising the States to
"no longer act a farce" but to act con-
jointly in enacting military and civil
laws, and refering to the benefits
to be derived from the
Potomac Company.

- 31 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. 4 pages. Quarto.

"Mount Vernon Nov'r 30th 1785

"James Madison Esq

"My dear Sir

"Receive my thanks for your obliging communications of the 11th—I hear with much pleasure that the Assembly are engaged, seriously, in the consideration of the Revised Laws.—A short & simple code, in my opinion, tho' I have the sentiments of some of the Gentlemen of the long robe against me, would be productive of happy consequences, and redound to the honor of this or any Country which shall adopt such.—

"I hope the resolutions which were published for the consideration of the House respecting the reference to Congress for the regulation of a Commercial system will have passed.—The proportion in my opinion is so self evident that I confess I am at a loss to discover wherein lyes the weight of the objection to the measure.—We are either a United people, or we are not.—If the former, let us, in all matters of general concern act as a nation which have National objects to promote, and a National Character to support.—If we are not, let us no longer act a farce by pretending to it, for whilst we are playing a d'ble game, or playing a game between the two we never shall be consistent or respectable—but *may* be the dupes of some powers and, most assuredly, the contempt of all.—In any case it behoves us to provide good Militia Laws, and look well to the execution of them—but, if we mean by

"our

our conduct that the States shall act independently of each other it becomes *indispensably* necessary—for therein will consist our strength and respectability in the Union.

“It is much to be wished that public faith may be held inviolate—Painful is it even in thought that attempts should be made to weaken the bands of it.—It is a dangerous experiment—once slacken the Reins and the power is lost—and it is questionable with me whether the advocates of the Measure foresee all the consequences of it.—It is an old adage that honesty is the best policy—this applies to public as well as private life—to States as well as individuals.—I hope the Port and assize Bills no longer sleep, but are awakened to a happy establishment.—The first with some alterations, would in my judgment be productive of great good to this Country—without it, the Trade thereof I conceive will ever labor & languish—with respect to the second if it institutes a speedier Administration of Justice it is equally desirable

“It gives me great pleasure to hear that our assembly were in way of adopting a mode for establishing the Cut betw’n Elizabeth River & Pasquotank which was likely to meet the approbation of the State of N^o Carolina.—It appears to me that no Country in the Universe is better calculated to derive benefits from inland Navigation than this is—and certain I am, that the conveniences to the Citizens individually, and the sources of wealth to the Country generally, which will be opened thereby, will be found to exceed the most Sanguine imagination.—The mind can scarcely take in at one view all the benefits which will result therefrom.—The saving in draught Cattle, preservation of Roads &c &c will be felt most interestingly.—This business only wants a beginning—Rappahanock—Shannondoah—Roanoke—and the branches of York River will soon perceive the advantages which water transportation (in ways hardly thought of at first) have over that of Land and will extend Navigation to almost every Mans door.

“From the complexion of the debates in the Pennsylvania it should seem as if that Legislature intended their assent to the proposition from the States of Virginia & Maryland (respecting a Road to the Yohiogany should be conditional of permission given to open a Communication between the Chesapeak & Delaware by way of the Rivers Elk & Christien—which I am sure will never be obtained if the Baltimore interest can give it effectual opposition.—

“The Directors of the Potomack Company have sent to the Delegates of this County to be laid before the Assembly a Petition (which sets forth the Reasons) for relief in the depth of the Canals which it may be found necessary to open at the great & little Falls of the River.—as public economy and private interest equally prompt the measure and no possible disadvantage that we can see will attend granting the prayer of it, we flatter ourselves no opposition will be given to it.

“To save trouble—to expedite the business, and to secure uniformity without delay, or an intercourse between the Assemblies on so trivial a matter we have taken the liberty of sending the draught of a Bill to Members of both Assemblies, which if approved will be found exactly similar.—With the highest esteem and regard

“I am Dr Sir

“Yr obed & affect Hble Serv’t

“GEO WASHINGTON”

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Mount Vernon 5th Nov 1786

My dear Sir;

I thank you for your communication in your letter of the first inst. — The decision of the House on the question respecting a paper emission is fortetuous I hope, of an auspicious session. — It may certainly be classed among the important questions of the present day, and merited the serious consideration of the Assembly. — Fair would I hope, that the great, & most important of all objects — the Federal govern^t — may be considered with that calm deliberate attention which the magnitude of it so loudly calls for at this critical moment. — Let prejudices, unreasonable jealousies, and local interest yield to reason and liberality. — Let us look to our national character, and to those beyond the present period. — No more ever
doubt

ed more favourable than ours
and the day was ever more clouded
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the political machine from the
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impending storm. - Virginia has seen
an opportunity to set the latter, and
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the lead in promoting this great & ardu-
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- among other things he says, "there
"creed is, that the property of the United
"States, has been protected from confisca-
"tion of Britain by the joint exertions
"of all, and therefore ought to be the
common

"common property of all And let that
"attempts opposition to this creed is an
"enemy to equity & justice, & ought to be
"wiped from off the face of the Earth." —
again "They are determined to annihilate
"all debts public & private, and have
"hypocritical Laws, which are easily ef-
"fected by the means of unfunded paper
"money which shall be a tender in all
"cases whatever." — He adds "The num-
"bers of these people amount in Massa-
"chusetts to about one fifth part of the
"vocal populous Counties, and to these
"may be collected, people of similar
"sentiments from the States of Rhode
"Island, Connecticut, & New Hampshire
"so as to constitute a body of twelve or
"or fifteen thousand desperate, and
"unprincipled men. — They are chiefly
"of the young & active part of the Community."

How melancholy is the reflection,
that in so short a space, we should have
made such large strides towards fulfilling
the prediction of our disastrous foe
! — "Leave them to themselves, and their
"government will soon dissolve". —
With all the wise & good things hard to
avert

²his evil? — or with their superior
²ignorance, and the arts of self-inter-
est, to involve this rising empire in
disorder & contempt? — What stronger
can be given of the want of energy
in our government than these disorders? —
exists not a power to check them,
security has a man of life, liberty, or
4? — To you, I am sure I need
say aught on this subject, the course
of a lax, or inefficient govern-
ment too obvious to be dwelt on. —
Our crepties pulling against
her, and all tugging at the Federal
ship soon bring ruin on the whole;
as a liberal, and energetic Con-
stitution, well guarded, & closely watch-
ing every encroachment, might
lead us to that degree of respectability
and influence, to which we had a fair
prospect of attaining.
With sentiments of the sincerest
respect and regard

I am Dear Sir

Y^r Most Obedt & affect
Able Serv^t

12 Jan^y 1819

G^o Washington

Washington's Letter pleading for a Foederal Constitution.

32 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Quarto. 4 pages.

"Mount Vernon 5th Nov'r. 1786

"*Jas Madison, Jur Esq*

"My dear Sir,

"I thank you for ye communications in your letter of the first inst.—The decision of the House on the question respecting a paper emission, is portentous I hope, of an auspicious Session.—It may certainly be classed among the important questions of the present day; and merited the serious considerations of the Assembly.—Fain would I hope, that the great, & most important of all objects—the foederal governm't—may be considered with that calm & deliberate attention which the magnitude of it so loudly calls for at this critical moment.—Let prejudices, unreasonable jealousies, and local interests yield to reason and liberality.—Let us look to our National character, and to things beyond the present period.—No morn ever dawned more favourable than ours did—and no day was ever more clouded than the present!—Wisdom, & good examples are necessary at this time to rescue the political machine from the impending storm.—Virginia has now an opportunity to set the latter, and has enough of the former, I hope, to take the lead in promoting this great & arduous Work.—Without some alteration in our political creed, the superstructure we have been seven years raising at the expence of much blood and treasure, must fall. We are fast verging to anarchy & confusion!—a letter which I have just received from Gen'l Knox, who had just returned from Massachusetts (whither he had been sent by Congress consequent of the commotion in that State) is replete with melancholy information of the temper, & designs of considerable part of that people.—among other things he says, 'their creed is, that the property of the United States,' 'has been protected from confiscation of Britain by the just exertions of *all*,' 'and therefore ought to be the *common property* of all. And he that at-' 'tempts opposition to this creed is an enemy to equity & justice, & ought 'to be swept from the face of the Earth.'—again 'they are determined to annihilate all debts public & private, and have Agrarian Laws, which are 'easily effected by the means of unfunded paper money which shall be a 'tender in all cases whatever.'—He adds, 'The numbers of these people 'amount in Massachusetts to about one fifth part of several populous Counties, 'and to them may be collected, people of similar sentiments from the States of 'Rhode Island, Connecticut, & New Hampshire so as to constitute a body of 'twelve or fifteen Thousand desperate, and unprincipled Men.—They are 'chiefly of the young & active part of the Community.'

"How melancholy is the reflection that in so short a space, we should have made such large strides, towards fulfilling the prediction of our transatlantic foe!—leave them to themselves, and their government will soon dissolve.'—Will not the wise & good strive hard to avert this evil?—Or will their supineness suffer ignorance, and the Acts of self interested designing disaffected & desperate characters, to involve this rising empire in wretchedness & contempt?—What stronger evidence can be given of the want of energy in our government, than these disorders?—If there exists not a power to check them, what security has a man of life, liberty, or property?—To you, I am sure I need not add aught on this subject; the consequences of a lax, or inefficient government, are too obvious to be dwelt on.—Thirteen Sovereignties pulling against each other, and all tugging at the foederal head will soon bring ruin on the whole;—whereas a liberal, and energetic Constitution, well guarded, & closely watched, to prevent incroachments, might restore us to that degree of respectability & consequence, to which we had a fair claim, & the brightest prospect of attaining—With sentiments of the Sincerest esteem & regard

"I am Dear Sir

"Yr Most Obed & Affect'e

"H'ble Serv't

"GEO WASHINGTON"

avert this evil - or with their superiors.
suffer ignorance and the arts of self-interest
vested designs & disaffected & dissolute
characters, to involve this Union in
wretchedness & contempt? - What stronger
evidence can be given of the want of energy
in our government, than these disorders? -
If there exists not a power to check them,
what security has a man of life, liberty, or
property? - To you, I am sure I need
not add aught on this subject, the conse-
quences of a lax, or inefficient govern-
ment are too obvious to be dwelt on. -
Thirteen sovereignties pulling against
each other, and all tugging at the Federal
lead will soon bring ruin on the whole;
- whereas a liberal, and energetic Con-
stitution, well guarded & closely watch-
ed, to prevent encroachments, might
restore us to that degree of respectability
& consequence, to which we had a fair
claim, & the brightest prospect of attain-
ing - With sentiments of the warm-
est esteem & regard

Yr Dear Sir

Y^r Most Obedt & affec^d
Able Serv^t

Wm Madison Jun^r 25th 1793

Edw W. W. W. W. W.



Washington's Letter informing Madison of
his objections to being chosen again
President of the Society of the Cin-
cinnati, and his reasons for re-
fusing to be a member of the
Constitutional Convention.

33 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter
Signed. 4to. 4 pages.

"Mount Vernon, 18th Nov., 1786.

"James Madison Jun'r, Esq

"My dear Sir,

"Not having sent to the Post Office with my usual regularity, your favor of the 8th inst did not reach me in time for an earlier acknowledgment than of this date.—

"It gives me the most sensible pleasure to find that, the acts of the present Session are marked with wisdom, justice and liberality.—These are the palladium of good policy, & the sure paths to national happiness.—Would to God every State would let these be the leading features of their Constituent characters.—Those threatening clouds which seem ready to burst on the Confederation would then, soon disperse

"The unanimity with which the Bill was received for appointing comm'rs agreeable to the recommendation of the Convention at Annapolis—and the uninterrupted progress it has met with since, are indications of a favourable issue.—It is a measure of equal necessity and magnitude.—and may be the spring of re-animation.—Although I had bid adieu to the walks of public life in a public manner, and had resolved never more to tread on public ground; yet, if upon an occasion so interesting to the well being of the Confederacy it should have appeared to have been the wish of the Assembly to have employed me with other associates, in the business of revising the federal system, I should, from a sense of the obligation I am under for repeated proofs of confidence in me, more than from any opinion I should have entertained of my usefulness, have obeyed its call, but it is now out of my power to do this with any degree of consistency.—The cause I will mention

"I presume you have heard, Sir, that I was first appointed, and have since been rechosen, President of the Society of the Cincinnati, and you may have understood also, that the triennial General meeting of this body is to be holden in Philadelphia the first Monday in May next.—Some particular reasons combining with the peculiar situation of my private concerns.—The necessity of paying attention to them.—a wish for retirement—relaxation from public cares—and Rheumatic pains which I begin to feel very sensibly, induced me on the 31st of October last, to address a circular letter to the several State Societies, informing them of my intention not to be at the next General meeting, and desire not to be rechosen President.—The Vice President is also informed of these matters, that the business of the Society may not be impeded by my absence.—Under these circumstances, it will readily be perceived, that I could not appear at the same time & place on any other occasion without giving offence to a very worthy and respectable part of the Community—the late Officers of the American Army.—

"I feel as you do, for our acquaintance Col^o Lee.—Better never have delegated, than left him out, unless some glaring impropriety of conduct had been laid at his door.—I hear with pleasure that you are in the new choice.—With sentiments of the highest esteem and Affection

"I am, My dear Sir

"Yr. obed Hble Serv't

"GEO WASHINGTON"

Washington's Letter giving further reasons
for not accepting a seat in the Virginia
Assembly, and the Presidency of the
"Society of the Cincinnati"; and
also his views about
reciprocity.

- 34 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Folio. 3 pages.

"Mount Vernon Dec'r 16th 1786

"James Madison Junr Esq

"My dear Sir,

"Your favor of the 7th came to hand the evening before last.—The resolutions which you say are inserted in the papers, I have not yet seen.—The latter come irregularly, tho' I am a subscriber to Hay's Gazette.—

"Besides the reasons which are assigned in my circular letter to the several State Societies of the Cincinnati, for my non-attendance at the next General Meeting to be holden in Philadelphia the first Monday of May, there exists one of a political Nature, which operates more forceably on my mind than all the others; and which, in confidence, I will now communicate to you.—

"When the Society was first formed, I am persuaded not a member of it conceived that it would give birth to those Jealousies, or be chargeable with those dangers (real or imaginary) with which the Minds of many, & some of respectable Characters, were filled.—The motives which induced the Officers to enter into it were, I am confident, truly & frankly recited in the Institution: one of which, indeed the principal, was to establish a charitable fund for the relief of such of their compatriots—the Widows—and descendants of them—as were fit subjects for their support; & for whom no public provision had been made—But the trumpet being sounded, the alarm was spreading far & wide; I readily perceived therefore that unless a modification of the plan could be effected (to annihilate the Society altogether was impracticable, on acc't of the foreign Officers who had been admitted)—that irritation w'd arise which would soon draw a line betw'n the Society & their fellow Citizens.—To prevent this.—To conciliate the affections—and to convince the World of the purity of the plan—I exerted myself, and with much difficulty, effected the changes which appeared in the recommendation from the General Meeting to those of the States; The accomplishment of which was not easy; & I have since heard, that whilst some States acceded to the recommendation, others are not disposed thereto, alledging that, unreasonable prejudices and ill founded jealousies ought not to influence a measure laudable in its institution, & salutary in its objects & operation.—Under these circumstances, there will be no difficulty in conceiving, that the part I should have had to have acted, would have been delicate; On the one hand, I might be charged with dereliction to the officers, who had nobly supported, and had treated me with uncommon marks of attention and attachment.—On the other, with supporting a measure incompatible (some say) with Republican principles. I thought it best therefore without assigning this (the principal reason) to decline the Presidency, and to excuse my attendance at the meeting on the
"ground

ground, which is firm & just;—the necessity of paying attention to my private concerns;—to conformity to my determination of passing the remainder of my days in a state of retirement—and to indisposition; occasioned by Rheumatic complaints, with which, at times, I am a good deal afflicted.—Professing at the same time my entire approbation of the institution as altered, and the pleasure I feel at the subsidence of those jealousies which yielded to the change.—*Presuming*, on the general adoption of them.

“I have been thus particular to show, that under circumstances like these, I should feel myself in an awkward situation to be in Philadelphia on another public occasion during the Sitting of this Society.—That the pres’t aera is pregnant of great, & *strange* events, none who will cast their eyes around them, can deny—What may be brought forth between this and the first of May to remove the difficulties which at present labour in my Mind, against the acceptance of the honor which has lately been conferred on me by the Assembly, is not for me to predict; but I should think it incompatible with that candour which ought to characterize an honest Mind, not to declare that under my present view of the Matter, I should be too much embarrassed by the Meetings of these two bodies in the same place, in the same moment (after what I have written) to be easy in the situation;—and consequently, that it w’d be improper to let my appointment stand in the way of any other.—

“Of this, you who have had the whole matter fully before you, will judge; for having received no other than private intimation of my election, and unacquainted with the formalities which are, or ought to be used on these occasions, silence may be deceptive, or considered as disrespectful;—The imputation of both, or either, I would wish to avoid.—This is the cause of the present disclosure, immediately on the receipt of your letter, which has been locked up by Ice; for I have had no communication with Alexandria for many days, till the day before yesterday.—

“My Sentiments are decidedly against Commutables; for sure I am it will be found a tax without a Revenue.—That the people will be burthened—The public expectation deceived—and a few speculators *only*, enriched—Thus the matter will end, after the Morals of *some* are more corrupted than they now are—and the Minds of *all*, filled with more leaven, by finding themselves taxed, and the public demands in full force.—Tobacco on acc’t of the public places of deposit, and from the accustomed mode of negotiating the article, is certainly better fitted for a Commutable than any other production of this Country;—but if I understand the matter rightly (I have it from report only) will any man pay five pounds in specie for five taxables, when the same sum (supposing Tob’o not to exceed 20/ pr C’t) will purchase 500 lbs of Tob’o & this, if at 28/ will discharge the tax on Seven?—And will not the Man who neither makes, nor can easily procure this commodity, complain of the inequality of such a mode, especially when he finds that the Revenue is diminished by the difference be it what it may, between the real & nominal price and that he is again to be taxed to make this good?—These, & such like things, in my humble opinion, are extremely hurtful, and are among the principal causes they present depravity & corruption without accomplishing the object in view, for it is not the shadow, but the substance with which Taxes must be paid, if we mean to be honest.

“With sentiments of sincere esteem & regard I am

“Dear Sir

“Yr Most obed’t & aff’c Scr’t

“GEO WASHINGTON”

Washington's Letter arguing the importance of a Constitutional Convention.

35 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter. Signed. Quarto. 8 pages.

Mount Vernon 31st Mar. 1787.

"Hon. James Madison Jun'r Esq

"My dear Sir.

"At the sametime that I acknowledge the receipt of your obliging favor of the 21st ult. from New York, I promise to avail myself of your indulgence of writing only when it is convenient to me.—If this should not occasion a relaxation on your part, I shall become very much your debtor—and possibly like others in similar circumstances (when the debt is burthensome) may feel a disposition to apply the sponge—or, what is nearly a-kin to it—pay you off in depreciated paper, which being a legal tender, or what is tantamount, being *that or nothing*, you cannot refuse.—You will receive the nominal value, & that you know quiets the conscience, and makes all things easy—with ye debtors.

"I am glad to find that Congress have recommended to the States to appear in the Convention proposed to be holden in Philadelphia in May.—I think the reasons in favor, have the preponderancy of those against the measure.—It is idle in my opinion to suppose that the Sovereign can be insensible of the inadequacy of the powers under which it acts—and that Seeing, it should not recommend a revision of the Fœderal system, when it is considered by many as the *only* Constitutional mode by which the defects can be remedied.—Had Congress proceeded to a delineation of the Powers, it might have sounded an alarm;—but as the case is, I do not concieve that it will have that effect.—

"From the acknowledged abilities of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, I could have had no doubt of his having ably investigated the infractions of the Treaty on both sides—Much is it to be regretted however, that there should have been any on ours.—We seem to have forgotten, or never to have learnt, the policy of placing ones enemy in the wrong.—Had we observed good faith on our part we might have told our tale to the World with a good grace; but compl's illy become those who are found to be the first agressors.

"I am fully of opinion that those who lean to a Monarchical governm't have either not consulted the public Mind, or that they live in a region where the levelling principles in which they were bred, being entirely eradicated,—is much more productive of Monarchical ideas than are to be found in the Southern States, where from the habitual distinctions which have always existed among the people, one would have expected the first generation, and the most rapid growth of them.—I also am clear, that even admitting the utility;—nay necessity of the form—yet that the period is not arrived for adopting the change without shaking the Peace of this country to its foundation.

"That a thorough reform of the present system is indispensable, none who have capacities to judge will deny—and with hand and heart I hope the business will be essayed in a full Convention—After which, if more powers, and more decision is not found in the existing form—If it still wants energy, and that secrecy and despatch (either from the non-attendance, or the local views of its members) which is characteristick of good Government.—And if it shall be found (the contrary of which however I have always been more affr'd of, than of the abuse of them) that Congress will upon all proper occasions exercise the powers with a firm and Steady hand, instead of frittering them back to the Individual States where the Members in place of viewing themselves in their national character, are too apt to be looking.—I say

"after

after this essay is made if the system proves inefficient, conviction of the necessity of a change will be dissipated among all classes of the People.—Then, and not till then, in my opinion can it be attempted without involving all the evils of civil discord.—

“ I confess however that my opinion of public virtue is so far changed that I have my doubts whether any system without the means of coercion in the Sovereign, will enforce Obedience to the Ordinances of a Gen'l Government—without which, every thing else fails,—Laws or Ordinances unobserved, or partially attended to, had better never have been made; because the first is a mere null and the 2d is productive of much jealousy & discontent.—But the kind of Coercion you may ask?—This indeed will require thought, though the non-compliance of the States with the late requisition, is an evidence of the necessity.—

“ It is somewhat singular that a State (New York) which used to be foremost in all federal measures, should now turn her face against them in almost every instance.—

“ I fear the State of Massachusetts has exceeded the bounds of good policy in its disfranchisement—punishment is certainly due to the disturbers of a government, but the operations of this act is too extensive.—It embraces too much—& probably may give birth to new instead of destroying the old leaven.

“ Some acts passed at the last Session of our Assembly respecting the trade of this Country, has given great, and general discontent to the Merchants of it.—an application from the whole body of those at Norfolk has been made, I am told, to convene the Assembly.—

“ I had written thus far, and was on the point of telling you how much I am your obliged Servant, when your favor of the 18th calls upon me for additional acknowledgments.

“ I thank you for the Indian Vocabulary which I dare say will be very acceptable in a general comparison.—Having taken a copy, I return you the original with thanks.—

“ It gives me pleasure to hear that there is a probability of a full Representation of the States in Convention; but if the delegates come to it under fetters, the salutary ends proposed will in my opinion be greatly embarrassed & retarded, if not altogether defeated.—I am anxious to know how this matter really is, as my wish is, that the Convention may adopt no temporising expedient, but probe the defects of the Constitution to the bottom, and provide radical cures; whether they are agreed to or not—a conduct like this, will stamp wisdom and dignity on the proceedings, and be looked to as a luminary which sooner or later will shed its influence.—

“ I should feel pleasure, I confess, in hearing that Vermont is received into the Union upon terms agreeable to all parties—I took the liberty years ago to tell some of the first characters in the State of New York, that sooner or later it would come to that.—That the longer it was delayed the terms on their part, would, probably be more difficult—and that the general interest was suffering by the suspension in which the business was held, as the asylum w'ch it afforded, was a constant drain from the Army in place of an aid which it offered to afford.—and lastly, considering the proximity of it to Canada if they were not with us, they might become a sore thorn in our sides, w'ch, I verily believe would have been the case if the War had continued.—The Western Settlements without good and wise management of them, may be equally troublesome.—With sentiments of the sincerest friendship

“ I am—Dear Sir

“ Be so good as to forward the enclosed

“ Yr affect'e Serv't

“ GEO WASHINGTON ”

Mrs Washington intended to have sent it by Col^o Carrington, but he did not call here.”

Washington's Letter scoring Colonel R. H. Lee for his objections to the proposed Constitution.

36 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter. Signed. Quarto. 4 pages.

"Mount Vernon Oct'r 10th 1787

"James Madison Jun'r Esq.

"My dear Sir

"I thank you for your letter of the 30th ult.—It came by the last Post.—I am better pleased that the proceedings of the Convention is handed from Congress by a unanimous vote (feeble as it is) than if it had appeared under stronger marks of approbation without it.—This apparent unanimity will have its effect.—Not every one has opportunities to peep behind the curtain; and as the multitude often judge from externals, the appearance of unanimity in that body, on this occas'n will be of great importance.—

"The political tenets of Col^o M. & Col^o R. H. L. are always in unison.—It may be asked which of them gives the tone?—Without hesitation, I answer the latter; because the latter, I believe, will receive it from no one.—He has, I am informed, rendered himself obnoxious in Philadelphia by the pains he took to disseminate his objections amongst some of the leaders of the seceding Members of the legislature of that State.—His conduct is not less reprobated in this County.—How it will be relished, *generally*, is yet to be learnt, by me.—As far as acc'ts have been received from the Southern & Western Counties, the Sentiment with respect to the proceedings of the Convention is favourable.—Whether the knowledge of this, or conviction of the impropriety of withholding the Constitution from State Conventions has worked most in the breast of Col M. I will not decide, but the fact is, he has declared unequivocally (in a letter to me) for its going to the people.—Had his sentiments however been opposed to the Measure, Instructions which are given by the freeholders of this County to their representatives, would have secured his vote for it.—Yet, I have no doubt but that this assent will be accompanied by the most tremendous apprehensions, and highest colourings, to his objections.—To alarm the people, seems to be the ground work of his plan.—The want of a qualified Navigation Act, is already declared to be a mean by which the produce of the Southern States will be reduced to Nothing, & will become a monopoly of the Northern & Eastern States.—To enumerate all his objections, is unnecessary; because they are detailed in the address of the Seceding Members of the Assembly of Pennsylvania; which, no doubt you have seen.—

"I scarcely think that any powerful opposition will be made to the Constitution being submitted to a Convention of the people of this State.—If it is given, it will be at that meeting.—In which I hope you will make it convenient to attend;—explanations will be wanting—none can give them with more precision and accuracy than yourself.—

"The Sentiments of Mr Henry with respect to the Constitution which is submitted, are not known in these parts.—Mr Jos'h Jones (who it seems was in Alexandria a few days before my return home) was of opinion that they would not be inimical to it—others however conceive, that as the advocate of a paper emission, he can not be friendly to a Constn w'ch is an effectual bar.

"From circumstances which have been related, it is conjectured that the Governor wishes he had been among the subscribing members; but time will disclose more than we know at present with respect to the whole of this business; and when I hear more, I will write to you again.—In the mean while I pray you to be assured of the sincere regard and affection with which

"I am My dear Sir

"Yr Most obed't & very Hble Serv

"GEO WASHINGTON"

"P. S.—I having received (in a letter) from Col Mason, a detail of his objections to the proposed Constitution I enclose you a copy of them."

Washington's Letter informing Mr. Madison that Chancellor Pendleton espouses the proposed Constitution.

- 37 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Unsigned. Quarto. 2 pages.

"Mount Vernon Oct'r 22d 1787

"Hon James Madison Ju'r Esq

"My dear Sir,

"When I last wrote to you, I was uninformed of the Sentiments of this State beyond the circle of Alexandria, with respect to the New Constitution. Since, a letter which I received by the last Post, dated the 16th from a Member of the Assembly, contains the following paragraphs.—

"I believe such an instance has not happened before, since the Revolution, that there should be a house on the first day of the Session, and" business immediately taken up.—This was not only the case on Monday," but there was a full house; when Mr Prentice was called up to the chair," as Speaker, there being no opposition.—Thus, the Session has commenced" peaceably.

"It gives me much pleasure to inform you that the sentiments of the" Members are infinitely more favourable to the Constitution than the most" zealous advocates for it could have expected.—I have not met with one in" all my enquiries (and I have made them with great diligence) opposed to" it, except Mr Henry who I have heard is so, but could only conjecture it," from a conversation with him on the subject.—Other Members who have" also been active in their enquiries tell me, that they have met with *none*" opposed to it.—It is said however that old Mr Cabell of Amherst disap-
proves of it.—Mr Nicholas has declared himself a warm friend to it.

"The transmissary note of Congress was before us to day, when Mr" Henry declared that it transcended our powers to decide on the Constitu-
tion; that it must go before a Convention.—As it was insinuated he would" aim at preventing this, much pleasure was discovered at the declaration.—
Thursday week (the 25th) is fixed upon for taking up the question of call-
ing the Convention, and fixing the time of its meeting; In the meantime," five thousand copies are ordered to be printed, to be dispersed by the mem-
bers in their respective Counties for the information of the People.—I can-
not forbear mentioning that the Chancellor, Pendleton, espouses the Con-
stitution so warmly as to declare he will give it his aid in the Convention," if his health will permit.—As there are few better judges of such subjects," this must be deemed a fortunate circumstance."

"As the above quotations is the sum of my information, I shall add nothing more on the subject of the proposed government, at this time.

"Mr C. Pinkney is unwilling (I perceive by the enclosures contained in your letter of the 13th) to lose any fame that can be acquired by the publication of his sentiments.—If the discussion of the Navigation of the Mississippi *could* have remained as silent, & glided as gently down the stream of time for a few years, as the Waters do, that are contained within the banks of that River, it would, I confess, have comported more with my ideas of sound policy than any decision the case can obtain at this juncture.

"With sentiments the most Affect'e

"and friendly

"I am—Dear Sir

"Yr Most obed Serv't"

[Unsigned].

Washington's Letter informing Mr. Madison of the feeling of the Virginia Assembly towards the proposed Constitution.

38 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Quarto. 2 pages.

" Mount Vernon Nov'r 5th 1787

" *Hon'l James Madison, Jun'r*

" My dear Sir

" Your favor of the 18th ult^o came duly to hand.—As no subject is more interesting, and seems so much to engross the attention of every one as the proposed Constitution, I shall (tho' it is probable your communications from Richmond are regular and full with respect to this, and other matters, which employ the consideration of the Assembly) give you the extract of a letter from Doct'r Stuart, which follows—

" " Yesterday (the 26th of Oct'r) according to appointment, the calling " of a Convention of the people was discussed.—Though no one doubted a " pretty general unanimity on this question ultimately, yet, it was feared " from the avowed opposition of Mr Henry and Mr Harrison, that an at- " tempt would be made, to do it in a manner that would convey to the peo- " ple an unfavourable impression of the opinion of the House, with respect " to the Constitution: And this was accordingly attempted.—It was how- " ever soon baffled.—The motion was to this effect; that a Convention " should be called to adopt—reject—or amend—the proposed Constitution — " As this conveyed an idea that the House conceived an amendment neccs- " sary, it was rejected as improper.—It now stands recommended to them, " on (I think) unexceptional ground, for ' their full and free consideration.' — " My colleague arrived here on the evening before this question was taken " up: I am apt to think that the opponents to the Constitution were much " disappointed in their expectations of support from him, as he not only de- " clared himself in the fullest manner for a Convention, but also, that not- " withstanding his objections, so federal was he, that he would adopt it, if " nothing better could be obtained.—The time at which the Convention is " to meet, is fixed to the first of June next.—The variety of sentiments on " this subject was almost infinite; Neither friends or foes agreeing in any " one period.—There is to be no exclusion of persons on acc't of their " Offices.—"

" Notwithstanding this decision the accounts of the prevailing sentiments without, especially on James River and Westwardly, are various;—Nothing decisive, I believe, can be drawn.—As far as I can form an opinion however, from different persons, it should seem as if Men judged of others, by their own affection or disaffection to the proposed government.—In the Northern Neck the sentiment I believe, is very generally for it.—I think it will be found such thro' the State.

" The Doctor further adds—' The subject of British debts was taken " up the other day when Mr Henry, reflected in a very warm declamatory " manner, on the circular letter of Congress, on that subject.—It is a great " and important matter and I hope will be determined as it should be not- " withstanding his opposition.'

" So far as the sentiments of Maryland, with respect to the proposed Constitution, have come to my knowledge, they are strongly in favor of it; but as this is the day on which the Assembly of that State *ought* to meet, I will say nothing in anticipation of the opinion of it. Mr Carroll of Carolton, and Mr Thos Johnson, are declared friends to it.—

" With sincere regard and affect'n

" I am—My dear Sir

" Yr sincere fr'd & obed Scr

" GEO WASHINGTON "

Washington's Letter portraying his anxiety, on account of the doings of the several conventions in the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

39 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Quarto. 4 pages.

“Mount Vernon Dec'r 7th 1787

“James Madison Jr.

“My dear Sir,

“Since my last to you, I have been favored with your letter of the 28th of Oct'r & 18th of Nov'r.—With the last came 7 numbers of the *Fœderalist* under the signature of Publius.—For these I thank you.—They are forwarded to a Gentleman in Richmond for re-publication.—The doing of which, in this State, will, I am persuaded have a good effect; as there are certainly characters in it who are no friends to a general government—perhaps I might go further, & add, who would have no great objection to the introduction of anarchy & confusion.—

“The solicitude, to know what the several State Legislatures would do with the Constitution, is now transfered to the several Conventions thereof; the decisions of which being more interesting & conclusive, is consequently more anxiously expected than the other.—What Pennsylvania & Delaware have done, or will do, must soon be known:—Other Conventions are treading closely on their heels—but what the three Southern States have done, or in what light the New Constitution is viewed by them, I have not been able to learn.—North Carolina it is said (by some acc'ts from Richmond) will be governed in a great measure by the conduct of Virg'a.—The pride of South Carolina will not, I conceive, suffer this influence to operate in her Councils; and the disturbances in Georgia will, or at least ought to show the people of it, the propriety of a strict Union, and the necessity there is for a general government.—

“If these, with the States Eastward and Northward of us, should accede to the proposed plan, I think the Citizens of this State will have no cause to bless the opponents of it here, if they should carry their point.—

“A Paragraph in the Baltimore Paper has announced a change in the Sentiments of Mr Jay on the subject; and adds, that from being an admirer of it, he is become a bitter enemy;—This relation, without knowing Mr Jay's opinion, I discredit, from a conviction that he would consider the matter well before he would pass judgment, and having done so, would not change his opinion, almost in the same breath.—I am anxious however to know, on what ground this report originates, especially the indelicacy of ye expres'n

“It would have given me great pleasure to have complied with your request in behalf of your foreign Acquaintance— at *present* I am unable to do it.—The Survey of the County between the Eastern and Western Waters is not yet reported by the Commissioners, tho' promised to be made very shortly—the Survey being complicated.—No draught that convey an adequate idea of the work, on this river, has been yet taken.—Much of the labour, except at the great falls, has been bestowed in the bed of the River; in a removal of Rocks, and deepening of the Water.—At the great falls, the labour has indeed been great. The water there (a sufficiency I mean) is taken into a Canal about 200 yards above the Cataract, & conveyed by a level cut (thro' a solid Rock in some places, and much Stone everywhere) more than a mile to the lock seats; five in number, by means of which, when completed, the craft will be

“let

let into the River below the falls (which together amount to 76 feet).—At the Seneca falls, six miles above the great Falls, a channel which has been formed by the River when inundated, is under improvement for Navigation.—The same, *in part* at Shanondah.—At the lower falls, where nothing has yet been done, a level cut and locks are proposed.—These constitute the principal difficulties & with the great expense of this undertaking.—The parts of the river between requiring loose Stones only to be removed, in order to deepen the Water where it is too shallow in dry seasons.—

“With very great esteem & regard

“I am—My dear Sir

“Y^r most obed^t & affec^t Ser

“GEO WASHINGTON

“P. S.—Since writing the foregoing, I have received a letter from a member of our Assembly at Richmond, dated the 4th inst. giving the following information.—

“I am sorry to inform you that the Constitution has lost ground so considerably that it is doubtful whether it has any longer a majority in its favor.—From a vote which took place the other day this would appear certain, tho’ I cannot think it so decisive as the enemies to it consider it.—It marks however the inconsistency of some of its opponents.—At the time the resolutions calling a Convention were entered into Col^o M——n sided with the friends to the Constitution, and opposed any hint being given, expressive of the sentiments of the House as to amendments,—But as it was unfortunately omitted at that time to make provision for the Subsistence of the Convention, it became necessary to pass some resolutions for that purpose; among these is one providing for any expense which may attend an attempt to make amendments.—As M—— had on the former occasion declared that it would be improper to make any discovery of the sentiments of the House on the subject, and that we had no right to suggest any thing to a body paramount to us, his advocating such a resolution was matter of astonishment.—It is true he declared it was not declaratory of our opinion; but the contrary must be very obvious.—As I have heard many declare themselves friends to the Constitution since the vote, I do not consider it as altogether decisive of the opinion of the House with respect to it.”

“In a debating society here, which meets once a week, this subject has been canvassed at two successive meetings, and is to be finally decided on tomorrow evening.—As the whole Assembly almost has attended on these occasions, their opinion will then be pretty well ascertained,—and as the opinion on this occasion will have much influence, some of Col^o Innis’ friends have obtained a promise from him to enter ye lists.

“I am informed both by Gen^l Wilkinson (who is just arrived from New Orleans by way of No^r Carolina) and Mr Ross, that North Carolina is almost unanimous for adopting it.—The latter received a letter from a Member of that Assembly now sitting.

“The Bill respecting British debts has passed our House, but with such a clause as I think makes it more than a rejection.”

“The letter of which I enclose you a printed copy—from Col^o R. H. Lee to the Gov^r has been circulated with great industry in Manuscript, four weeks before it went to press, and is said to have had a bad influence.—The enemies to the Constitution leave no stone unturned to increase the opposition to it.—

“Y^r, &c

“G. W——n”

Washington's Letter scoring Richard Henry Lee for his opposition to the Federal Constitution, and ridiculing the Virginia Assembly.

40 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter. Signed. Quarto. 3 pages.

“Mount Vernon, Jan'y 10th 1788

“Hon James Madison Jun'r.

“My dear Sir,

“I stand indebted to you for your favors of the 20th & 26th ult; and I believe for that of the 14th also, & their enclosures.—

“It does not appear to me that there is any *certain* criterion in this State, by which a decided judgment can be formed of the opinion which is entertained by the mass of its citizens with respect to the new Constitution.—My belief on this occasion is, that whenever the matter is brought to a final decision, that not only a majority, but a large one, will be found in its favor.—

“That the opposition should have gained strength, among the members of the Assembly in Richmond, admitting the fact, is not to be wondered at when it is considered that the powerful adversaries to the Constitution are all assembled at that place, acting conjunctly, with the promulgated sentiments of Col. R—H—L as auxiliary.—It is said however, and I believe it may be depended upon, that the latter (tho' he may retain his sentiments) has withdrawn, or means to withdraw his opposition; because as he has expressed himself, or as others have done it for him, he finds himself in bad company; such as with M——n Sm——th &c &c.—His brother, Francis L. Lee on whose judgment the family place much reliance, is decidedly in favor of the new form, under a conviction that it is the best that can be obtained, and because it promises energy—stability—and that security which is, or ought to be, the wish of every good Citizen of the Union.—

“How far the determination of the question before the debating club (of which I made mention in a former letter) may be considered as auspicious of the final decision in Convention, I shall not prognosticate; but in this club, this question it seems, was determined by a very large majority in favor of the Constitution; but of all the arguments which may be used at this time, none will be so forcible, I expect, as that nine States have acceded to it.—and if the unanimity, or majorities in those which are to follow, are as great as in those which have acted, the power of those arguments will be irresistible.—

“The Governor has given his reasons to the Publick for withholding his Signature to the Constitution.—A copy of them I send you

“Our Assembly has been long in Session—employed chiefly (according to my information) in rectifying the mistakes of the last, and committing others for emendations at the next.—Yet ‘who so wise as we are’—We are held in painful suspense with respect to European Intelligence—Peace or War, by the last acc'ts are equally balanced a grain added to either scale will give it the preponderancy.—

“I have no regular correspond't in Massachusetts; otherwise, as the occasional subject of a letter I should have had no objection to the communication of my sentiments on the proposed Government as they are unequivocal & decided

“With the greatest esteem & reg'd

“I am my dear Sir

“P. S.—I have this mom't been informed that the Assembly of No Carolina have postponed the meeting of the Convention of that State until July—this seems evidently calculated to take the Tone from Virginia.”

“Yr Most obed & aff'e Scr

“GEO WASHINGTON

Washington's Letter asking Mr. Madison to
procure him several copies of "The Fœd-
eralist," and regretting the publication
of a letter of his to Colonel Carter,
giving his sentiments on the
proposed Federal
Constitution.

41 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Quarto. 3 pages.

"Mount Vernon Fcb'y 5th 1788.

"Hon James Madison Jun'r.

"My dear Sir,

"I am indebted to you for several of your favors, and thank you for their enclosures.—The rumours of War between France and England have subsided; and the poor Patriots of Holland, it seems, are left to fight their own Battles or negotiate, in neither case with any great prospect of advantage.—They must have been deceived, or their conduct has been divided, precipitant, & weak.—the former, with some blunders, have, I conceive, been the causes of their misfortunes.—

"I am sorry to find by yours, and other acc'ts from Massachusetts, that the decision of its Convention (at the time of their dates) remains problematical.—A rejection of the New form by that State will invigorate the opposition, not only in New York, but in all those which are to follow;—at the same time that it will afford materials for the Minority in such as have adopted it, to blow the Trumpet of discord more loudly.—The acceptance by a *bare* majority, tho' preferable to rejection, is also to be deprecated.

"It is scarcely possible to form any decided opinion of the *general* sentiment of the people of this State, on this important subject.—Many have asked me with anxious solicitude, if you did not mean to get into the Convention; conceiving it of indispensable necessity.—Col^o Mason, who returned home only yesterday, has offered himself, I am told, for the County of Stafford; and his friends add, he can be elected not only there, but for Prince William & Fauquier also.—The truth of this I know not.—I rarely go from home, and my visitors who for the most part are travellers and strangers, have not the best information.

"At the time you suggested for my consideration, the expediency of a communication of my sentiments on the proposed Constitution, to any correspondent I might have in Massachusetts, it did not occur to me that Genl Lincoln & myself frequently interchanged letters—much less did I expect that a hasty, and indigested extract of one which I had written—intermixed with a variety of other matter to Col^o Chas Carter, in answer to a letter I had received from him respecting Wolf dogs—Wolves—Sheep—experiments in Farming &c &c &c—was then in the press, and would bring these sentiments to public view by means of the extensive circulation I find that extract has had.—Altho' I never have concealed, and am perfectly regardless who becomes acquainted with my sentiments on the proposed Constitution, yet nevertheless, as no care had been taken to dress the ideas, or any reasons assigned in support of my opinion, I felt myself hurt by the publication; and informed my friend the Colonel of it.—In answer, he has fully exculpated himself from the *intention*, but his zeal in the cause prompted him to distribute copies, under a prohibition (which was disregarded) that they should

"not

not go to the press.—As you have seen the rude, or crude extract (as you may please to term it) I will add no more on the subject.

“Perceiving that the *Fœderalist*, under the signature of Publius, is about to be republished, I will thank you for forwarding to me three or four Copies; one of which to be neatly bound, and inform me of the cost.—

“Altho’ we have not had many, or deep Snows since the commencement of them, yet we have had a very severe Winter; and if the cold of this day is proportionably keen with you, a warm room, & a good fire will be found no bad, or uncomfortable antidote to it.—With sentiments of perfect esteem and friendship

“I am. Dear Sir

“Yr Affect & obed’t Servt

“GEO WASHINGTON”

Washington’s Letter prophesying the French Revolution.

42 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Quarto. 3 pages.

“Mount Vernon, March 2d 1788.

“*Hon James Madison Jun’r*

“My dear Sir,

“The decision of Massachusetts, notwithstanding its concomitants, is a severe stroke to the opponents of the proposed Constitution in this State; and with the favorable determinations of the States which have gone before, and such as are likely to follow after, will have a powerful operation on the Minds of Men who are not actuated more by disappointment, passion and resentment, than they are by moderation, prudence and candor.—Of the first description however, it is to be lamented that there are so many—and among them, *some* who would hazard *every* thing rather than their opposition should fail, or the sagacity of their prognostications should be impeached by an issue contrary to their predictions.

“The determination you have come to, will give pleasure to your friends.—From those in your own County you will learn with more certainty than from me, the expediency of your attending the election in it.—With *some*, to have differed in sentiment, is to have passed the Rubicon of their friendship, altho’ you should go no further—With others (for the honor of humanity) I hope there is more liberality; but the consciousness of having discharged that duty which we owe to our Country, is superior to all other considerations, and will place smaller matters in a secondary point of view.—

“His Most Ch —n M——y speaks, & acts in a style not very pleasing to republican ears or to republican forms;—nor do I think this language is altogether so to the temper of his own subjects at *this* day.—Liberty, when it begins to take root, is a plant of rapid growth.—The checks he endeavors to give it, however warrantable by ancient usage, will, more than probably, kindle a flame which may not be easily extinguished; tho’ for a while it may be smothered by the Armies at his Command, & the Nobility in his interest.—When the people are oppressed with Taxes, & have cause to suspect that there has been a misapplication of their money, the language of despotism is but illy brooked.—This, & the mortification which the pride of the Nation has sustained in the affairs of Holland (if one may judge from appearances) may be productive of events which prudence will not mention.—

“To-morrow, the Elections for delegates to the Convention of this State commences—and as they will tread close upon the heels of each other this month becomes interesting and important.—With the most friendly sentiments, and affectionate regards

“I am, My dear Sir

“Your obedient

“GEO WASHINGTON”

Washington's Letter acquainting James Madison of the vote of Maryland in favor of the Constitution of the United States.

- 43 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter. Signed. Quarto. 2 pages.

"Mount Vernon May 2d 1788

"Honble James Madison, Jun'r

"My dear Sir,

"Your favor of the 10th ult. came duly to hand, and the enclosure for Mr D. Carroll was forwarded the next day by a direct & safe conveyance.—That Gentleman, however, was not of the Convention.—But the body of which you supposed him to be a member, by a large and decided majority (of sixty odd to twelve) have ratified the New Constitution.—A thorn this in the sides of the leaders of opposition in this State.—Should South Carolina give as unequivocal approbation of the system, the opposition here will become feeble; for eight affirmatives without a negative carries *weight* of argument, if not of eloquence along with it which might cause even the unerring sister to hesitate.—

"Mr Chace, it is said, made a display of all his eloquence.—Mr Mercer discharged his whole Artillery of inflamable matter—and Mr Martin did something—I know not what—but presume with vehemence—yet no converts were made—no, not one.—So the business after a very short session, ended;—and will if I mistake not, render yours less tiresome.

"With sentiments of sincere regard & affect'n

"I am, Yours

"GEO WASHINGTON"

Washington's Letter rejoicing at all the States having, so far, adopted the Constitution.

- 44 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter. Signed. Quarto. 2 pages.

"Mount Vernon June 8th 1788

"Hon James Madison Jun'r.

"My dear Sir,

"I am much obliged by the few lines you wrote to me on the 4th, and though it is yet too soon to rejoice one cannot avoid being pleased at the auspicious opening of the business of your Convention.—Though an ulterior opinion of the decision of this State on the Constitution would at any time previous to the discussion of it in the Convention have been premature yet I have never despaired of its adoption here.—What I have mostly apprehended is that the insidious arts of its opposers to alarm the fears and to inflame the passions of the Multitude may have produced instructions to the Delegates

"that

that would shut the door against argument and be a bar to the exercise of the judgment—If this is not the case I have no doubt but that the good sense of this Country will prevail against the local views of designing characters and the arrogant opinions of chagreened and disappointed men—The decision of Maryland & South Carolina by such large Majorities and the moral certainty of the adoption by New Hampshire will make *all* except desperate men look before they leap into the dark consequences of rejection

“The Ratification by eight States without a negative—By three of them unanimously—By six against one in another—By three to one in another—By two for one in two more—and by *all* the weight of *abilities & property* in the other is enough one would think to produce a cessation of opposition—I do not mean that numbers alone is sufficient to produce conviction in the Mind, but I think it is enough to produce some change in the conduct of any man who entertains a doubt of his infallibility

“Altho’ I have little doubt of your having received a copy of the enclosed pamphlet, yet I send it.—It is written with much good sense and moderation—I conjecture, but upon no certain ground, that Mr Jay is the author of it.—He sent it to me sometime ago, since which I have received two or three more copies.—With the sincerest esteem & most affect’e regard

“I am ever Yours

“GEO WASHINGTON”

Washington’s Letter expressing his pleasure at the ratification of the new Constitution by the State of New York.

- 45 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Quarto. With address.

“Mount Vernon Aug’t 3rd 1788.

“Honl Mr Madison.

“My dear Sir,

“Your favors of the 21st and 27th of last month came duly to hand.—The last, contained the pleasing—and I may add (tho’ I could not reconcile it with any ideas I entertained of common policy) unexpected account of the unconditional ratification of the Constitution by the State of New York—That No. Carolina will hesitate longer in its choice I can scarcely believe; but what Rhode Island will do is more difficult to say, though not worth a conjecture; as the conduct of the Majority there has, hitherto, baffled all calculation.

“The place proper for the New Congress to meet at, will unquestionably, undergo (if it has not already done it) much investigation;—but there are certain things which are so self evident in their nature as to speak for themselves.—this, possibly, may become—where the true point lays I will not undertake to decide, but there can be no hesitation I conceive in pronouncing one thing, that in all Societies, if the bond or cement is strong and interesting enough to hold the body together, the several parts should submit to the inconveniences for the benefit which they derive from the conveniences of the compact.

“We have nothing in these parts worth communicating.—Towards New York we look for whatever is interesting, until the States begin to act under the New form, which will be an important epoch in the annals of this Country.—With sentiments of sincere friendship and affection

“I am—Yours

“GEO WASHINGTON”

Washington's Letter expressing an opinion
that a temporary location of the Capital
at New York would hasten its re-
moval ultimately to a more
central point.

- 46 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed twice. Quarto. 2 pages.

"Mount Vernon Aug't 17th 1788

"Hon'ble James Madison Jun'r Esq

"My dear Sir,

"Although the letter of Mr Pleasants and its enclosure will appear under date of the 25th of July, it never got to my hands till friday last.—Tomorrow is the first Post by which I could forward it.—It is now sent with thanks for the perusal.—I shall write to the Count de Moustier, but in pretty general terms—giving the substance rather than the detail of this business.—

"That the circular letter from the Convention of New York should be handed to the public as the unanimous sense of that body is, to me, surprising.—It will, I fear, be attended with pernicious consequences.—The decision of North Carolina—unaccountable as it is—is not, in my opinion, more to be regretted.—With sentiments of the highest esteem & regard—I am.—My dear Sir

"Yr Most obedient and

"affectionate H'ble Serv't

"GEO WASHINGTON "

Aug't 18th

"I had written this letter, but had not sent it to the Post Office, when your favor of the 11th was brought to me.—

"I am clearly in sentiment with you that the longer the question respecting the permanent Seat of Congress remains unagitated, the greater certainty there will be of its fixture in a central spot.—But not having the same means of information and judging that you have, it would have been a moot point with me, whether a *temporary* residence of that body at New York would not have been a less likely means of keeping it *ultimately* from the center (being farther removed from it) than if it was to be at Philad'a; because, in proportion as you draw it to the center, you lessen the inconveniences and of course the solicitude of the Southern & Western extremities;—and when to these are super-added the acquaintances and connections which, naturally will be formed—the expences which more than probably will be incurred for the accomodation of the public offices—with a long train of et-ceteras, it might be found an arduous task to approach nearer to the Axis thereafter.—These, however, are first thoughts; and may not go to the true principles of policy which governs in this case.—

"I am as before

"Yrs very sincerely

"GEO WASHINGTON "

Washington's Letter on the propriety of selecting Philadelphia for the first meeting of the new Congress, and expressing fear of the anti-Federalists.

47 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter. Signed. Quarto. 2 pages.

" Mount Vernon Sept'r 23d 1788

" Hon'ble James Madison Jun'r Esq'r

" My dear Sir,

" I duly received your letter of the 24th of last Month, but as we had no intelligence or circumstance in this quarter worthy of your acceptance, I postponed even the acknowledgement until I was gratified by the receipt of your subsequent favor of the 14th instant.—Indeed I have now little more to give you in return, than this information to prevent your apprehension of miscarriage; and my thanks for your illustration of the subject which has lately engaged the attention of Congress.—

" Upon maturer reflection, I think the reasons you offer in favor of Philadelphia as the place for the first Meeting of Congress are conclusive: especially when the farther agitation of the question respecting its permanent residence is taken into consideration.—But I cannot, however, avoid being satisfied that the Minority should have acquiesced in any place, rather than to have prevented the system from being carried into effect.—The delay has already become the source of clamours and might have given advantages to the Anti-federalists.—Their expedient will now probably be an attempt to procure the Election of so many of their own Junto under the New government, as, by the introduction of local and embarrassing disputes, to impede or frustrate its operation.—

" In the meantime it behoves all the advocates of the Constitution, forgetting partial & smaller considerations, to combine their exertions for collecting the wisdom & virtue of the Continent to one center; in order that the Republic may avail itself of the opportunity for escaping from Anarchy, Division, and the other great material calamities that impended.—To be shipwrecked in sight of the Port would be the severest of all possible aggravations to our Misery—and I assure you I am under painful apprehensions from the single circumstance of Mr. H——'s having the whole game to play in the Assembly of this State, and the effect it may have on others—it should be counteracted if possible.—With sentiments of highest esteem & regard

" I am—My dear Sir

" Your affectionate H'ble Serv't

" GEO WASHINGTON

" P. S.—Permit me to request the favor of you to forward the Letters under cover with this by a favourable conveyance."

48 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Folio. 3 pages.

" Mount Vernon, Nov'r 17th 1788

" *The Hon'ble James Madison Jun'r Esq.*

" My dear Sir,

" It has happened that the letter which you did me the favor of writing to me on the 5th, did not get to my hands until the 15th instant ;—owing, in part, to the uncertainty of the Mail (on account of the change from the Summer to the Winter establishment of the Stages) and partly to some engagements which prevented my sending to the Post-Office agreeably to my usual custom.—

I wish it was in my power to be as precise & satisfactory in answering your enquiry respecting the value of the purchase made by Col^o Lee at the Great Falls of this River as your purposes require, and my inclination would prompt me to give you.—But however deficient they may be, I will hazard the best information I am possessed of on this subject.—

" Of the quantity of Land in this purchase, and the incumbrances thereon, it should seem you have been apprized.—It only remains therefore for me to add (as far as I am able) an Account of its *situation*, and the probable *advantages* which are to be derived from it.—With respect to the first, if my ideas of the matter (for I do not speak from absolute certainty) are just, it includes the entire Canal, Bason &c. at the Great Falls; and the Mill Seats (for there are more than one) of which Governor Johnson & a Company connected with him, in this business, had formed very sanguine hopes, till the unexpected purchase by Col^o Lee, arrested the prospect.—For Water works of *any* kind these Seats must be exceedingly valuable if the navigation obtains; of which no one I believe entertains a doubt, at this time.—How far they may be impeded, or even endangered at times by remarkable freshes, I am not a competent judge.—The opinion of better informed persons in these matters than I am, is, that they may be rendered secure.—Another advantage to be derived is, that under all possible circumstances a town must be established there (it is now much wished for by Mercantile people) whether the navigation is extended from thence to tide-water or not.—In the last case, the lots will be of great value—in the first very desirable; because all *Water* borne produce *must* pass by, if it is not deposited here; which must take place, if the difficulties from hence to tide Water (about nine miles) should prove insurmountable—and between you and me it is the *most* doubtful part of our Work.—Having gone so far, I will hazard another idea in proof of my opinion of this navigation; and consequently of the importance of this pass.—It may be a singular one, but I am not less clear in it on that account.—It is, that the Navigation from the Great Falls and through the Shenandoah falls, will not be opened *five* years before that of the latter River will be improved *at least* 150 Miles; & the whole produce of that rich and extensive vale between the Blue Ridge and the Alligany Mountains be brought through *it*, and the *South Branch*, as far South Westerly as Staunton into the Potomack;—and thence by the Great falls to the place or places of Exportation.—Add this to what will be drawn from the upper part of Maryland, and parts of Pensylvania (which at present go to Baltimore by an expensive Land transportation) and then annex thereto the idea of what may come (under a wise policy) from the Western Waters, and it opens a field almost too extensive for imagination; and will induce the Merchants of Alexandria, George Town and perhaps other places, to establish their advanced Posts at the Falls to catch the produce on its passage.—

" From these premises—but I beg leave to subjoin they may be too sanguinely dilated—I leave you to draw your own conclusions of the property which is offered to you; the profits of which, as you will readily perceive, cannot be immediate.—Not much I believe can be said in favor of the 500 Acres (if there is that quantity of it)—or of the growth thereon;—but to this

" tract

tract if I have been rightly informed, a privilege (but under what conditions I know not) is annexed of cutting wood from a large body adjoining.—It has also been said that in the vicinity of this tract another purchase (connected with the expanded designs of Sempé) has been made by Col^o Lee of a most valuable mine bank.—These, I presume are included in the offer to you, for as much as they were parts of the original plan.—

“With respect to the Sulla—before I attempt to give you an acc’t of my cultivation of it—and the result—I must request the favor of you to apologize for me to Mr St John for not having acknowledged the receipt of it before.—The truth is, that until I was informed by you from whence the Seeds came, I knew not to whom I was indebted for them.—In my room at Mr. Morris’s (where papers addressed to me were generally laid, during my attendance in Convention) I one day found a bundle containing these Seeds—unaccompanied by a letter—card—or clue of information to direct my acknowledgement of the receipt—or application.—I remember to have received a letter from Mr St. John whilst I was in Philadelphia, written in French, the purport of which I got Mr. Gouv’r Morris to explain to me in English; but if any mention of Sulla was made therein, he omitted, or I have forgot it.—Thus much by way of exculpation of myself.—And now I am sorry to add that, this plant (for want perhaps of knowing the nature & uses of it, and possibly from mismanagement) came to nothing.—The Seeds vegetated partially, and not being able to find the name in any botanical list of Plants in my possession, or to come at the properties of it—and it appearing moreover, ungrateful for the *first* attentions I gave it, it was neglected afterward.

“The acc’ts from Richmond are indeed very unpropitious to federal measures.—The whole proceedings of the Assembly, *it is said* may be summed up in one word—to wit—that the Edicts of Mr H—are unregistered with less opposition by the majority of that body, than those of the Grand Monarch are in the Parliaments of France.—He has only to say let this be Law—and it is Law.—With my very sincere esteem & regard

“I am My dear Sir

“Your affect’e H’ble Serv’t

“GEO WASHINGTON”

49 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Folio. With postscript by James Madison.

“Mount Vernon Jan’y 2d 1789

“Hon’ble James Madison Jun’r Esq.

“My dear Sir,

“The letters which will accompany this, for you, came to my hands by the Post on Tuesday.—The direction of them is altered; and they are forwarded to Alexandria to receive a conveyance in the mail tomorrow.—

“Is there any safe, and tolerably expeditious mode by which letters from the Post Office in Fredericksburgh are conveyed to you?—I want to write a private[*] & confidential letter to you, shortly, but am not inclined to trust to an uncertain conveyance, so as to hazard the loss or inspection of it.

“With the most sincere & perfect friendship, I remain

“My dear Sir

“Your affectionate

“G WASHINGTON”

Mr. Madison’s Postscript:—

[*] “The letter being peculiarly confidential was returned or rather left with its enclosure at Mt. Vernon on my way to N. York. The return tho not asked nor probably expected, was suggested by a motive of delicacy, nor was any copy of my answer to the communication retained.

“See letters of Gen’l W to J M Feby 16, 1789, addressed to the latter at Mount Vernon.”

- 50 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Quarto. 2 pages. With address.

Mount Vernon Feby 16th 1789

"The Hon'ble James Madison Jr Esq

"My dear Sir,

"Having heard of your Election by a respectable majority of the suffrages of the District for which you stood—and conceiving it probable that you would soon be on your journey to New York—possibly before my return from the Seneca Falls—for which place, by appointment, I am this moment setting off by the way of George Town; where I expect to meet Governors Johnson & Lee.—I take the liberty of submitting the papers herewith enclosed, for your perusal, in case of that event.—

"You have a rough draught only of the letter I had in contemplation to write to you—so soon as I should have received your answer to the one I had written to you, soon after you left this.—But having heard nothing from you since, I concluded that the intercourse between this & Orange was not very regular although, ultimately, it might be safe.—Therefore, & because I expected you would soon be on, I gave up the intention of forwarding the enclosures you will now receive.—

"I shall certainly be back on Friday—probably on Thursday—when if you should in the meantime have arrived, it would give me much pleasure to see you at this place—being always with the sincerest regard & friendship

"Your Most obedient

"& affectionate Hble Serv't

"P. S.—If it should be your *own* desire, I have not the smallest objection to your conversing freely with Col^d H——on all matters respecting this business.

"GEO WASHINGTON

"G. W."

Washington's Letter to James Madison, requesting him, in a Democratic sense, to secure lodgings for him as President of the United States.

- 51 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. 4to. 2 pages.

Mount Vernon March 30th 1789

"Hon'ble James Madison Jun'r Esq

"My dear Sir,

"I have been favored with your Letter of the 19th, by which it appears that a quorum of Congress was hardly to be expected—until the beginning of the *past* week.—As this delay must be very irksome to the attending members, and every days continuance of it (before the Government is in operation) will be more sensibly felt;—I am resolved, no interruption shall proceed from me that can well be avoided (after notice of the Election is announced); and therefore take the liberty of requesting the favor of you to

"engage

engage Lodgings for me previous to my arrival.—Colo Humphreys, I presume, will be of my party; and Mr. Lear who has already lived three years with me as a private Secretary, will accompany, or proceed me in the Stage.

“On the subject of lodgings I will frankly declare, I mean to go into none but hired ones,—If these cannot be had tolerably convenient (I am not very nice) I would take rooms in the most decent Tavern, till a house can be provided for the more permanent reception of the President.—I have already declined a very polite & pressing offer from the Governor, to lodge at his house till a place could be prepared for me; after which should any other of a similar nature be made, there would be no propriety in the acceptance.

“But as you are fully acquainted with sentiments on this subject, I shall only add, that as I mean to avoid private families on the one hand, so on another, I am not desirous of being *placed early* in a Situation for entertaining.—Therefore, hired (private) lodgings would not only be more agreeable to my own wishes, but, possibly, more consistent with the dictates of sound policy.—For, as it is my wish & intention to conform to the public desire and expectation, with respect to the style proper for the Chief Magistrate to live in, it might be well to know (as far as the nature of the case will admit) what these are before he enters upon it.—

“After all, something may perhaps have been decided upon, with respect to the accommodations of the President, before this letter w’d have reached you that may render this application nugatory.—If otherwise, I will sum up all my wishes in one word,—and that is to be placed in an independent situation, with the prospect I have alluded to, before me,—with strong, and affectionate friendship

“I am ever

“Yours

“GEO WASHINGTON.”

Washington’s Letter to James Madison, requesting him to write a reply to the Address of the House of Representatives.

- 52 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter. Signed. Folio. With address.

“New York May 5th 1789

Hon’ble James Madison

“My dear Sir,

“Notwithstanding the conviction I am under of the labour which is imposed upon you by *Public* Individuals as well as public bodies—Yet, as you have began, so I would wish you to finish, the good work in a short reply to the Address of the House of Representatives (which I now enclose) that there may be an accordance in this business.

“Thursday 12 O’clock, I have appointed to receive the Address.—The proper plan is with the House to determine.—As the first of every thing, *in our situation* will serve to establish a Precedent, it is devoutly wished on my part, that these precedents may be fixed on true principles.—

“With affectionate regard

“I am, ever Yours

“GEO WASHINGTON”

- 53 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Folio. With address.

"May 11th 1789

"*Hon'ble James Madison*

"My dear Sir,

"The enclosed were communicated to me (as you will perceive) to make a Confidential use of.—Upon receipt of the first letter I expressed a desire to be informed (if there was nothing improper in it) through what channel the report came, and what reliance could be placed in the authenticity of it.—This produced the sec'd letter.—As you are upon business which requires every information of the State of the Union and knowledge of our relative situation with G. Britain I give you the perusal of them, at your leisure as I am in no immediate want of the Papers.

"I am always

"Your Affect'e

"GEO WASHINGTON"

Washington expresses great satisfaction on account of the numerous congratulations he received on being elected President of the United States, and that his friends have done justice to the motives which brought him again into public life.

Also his views regarding nominations for public offices.

- 54 Washington, General George. Letter. Signed. Quarto. 2 pages. With address. Franked as "President U. S."

"New York May 14th 1789

"*Hon Joseph Jones.*

"Dear Sir

"Your letter of the 21st Ultmo came duly to hand, and should have received an earlier acknowledgment had not the new and busy scenes in which I have been engaged since my arrival in this place, rendered it impossible for me to pay that early attention to the favors of my friends which I should be pleased to do.—

"The numerous and friendly congratulations which I have received from respectable characters in every part of the Union are truly pleasing to me; not only on account of their discovering a warm attachment to my person, but because they convey the most flattering idea of the good dispositions of the people in the several States, and the strongest assurances of support to the

"Government

Government.—It affords me likewise no small satisfaction to find that my friends have done justice to the motives which again brought me into Public Life.

“Under these circumstances I shall feel a degree of confidence in discharging the duties of my administration, which a consciousness alone of the purity and rectitude of my intentions could not have inspired me with.

“Your observations upon the necessity there is for good dispositions to prevail among the Gentlemen of Congress, are extremely just; and, hitherto, everything seems to promise that the good effects which are expected from an accommodating and conciliating spirit in that body, will not be frustrated.

“That part of the President’s duty which obliges him to nominate persons for office is the most delicate and in many instances will be, to me, the most displeasing; for it may frequently happen that there will be several applicants for the same office, whose merits and pretensions are so nearly equal that it will almost require the aid of supernatural intuition to fix upon the right.—I shall, however, in all events, have the consolation of knowing that I entered upon my office unconfined by any engagements, and uninfluenced by any ties;—and that no means in my power will be left untried to find out, and nominate those characters who will discharge the duties of their respective offices to the best interest and highest credit of the American Union.

“I cannot close this letter, my dear Sir, without thanking you sincerely for your friendly sentiments and good wishes;—and beg you will be assured that

“I am

“With very great regard & esteem

“Your most Obed’t Hble Serv’t

“GEO WASHINGTON”

55 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Folio. With address.

“August 5 1789

“Mr Madison.

“My dear Sir,

“I want to communicate two matters to Congress; the substance of which is contained in the enclosed Paper.—The first requires to be decided upon before the proposed adjournment shall take place—but my motive for communicating the other, at this time, is only to fix the attention, & to promote enquiry against the next meeting,

“Whether would an Oral or Written Communication be best?

“If the first what mode is to be adopted to effect it?

“I would thank you, My good Sir, for amending the enclosed address, if you have leisure, by adding to, or striking out such parts as you may think had better be expunged

“I am most Affect’ly

“Yours

“GEO WASHINGTON”

Washington asks Mr. Madison's opinion
whether nominations by the President
should be communicated to the
Senate orally or in writing.

- 56 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Folio. 2 pages. With address.

"Sunday 9th Aug't. 1789

"Mr Madison,

"My dear Sir,

"Consequent of the enclosed resolution, I had a conference with the Com'ee therein named yesterday, when I expressed the Sentiments which you also have enclosed.—

"I was assured by the Committee, that the only object the Senate had in view was to be informed of the mode of communication which would be most agreeable to the President, and that a perfect acquiescence would be yielded thereto.—But I could plainly perceive notwithstanding, that oral communications was the point they aimed at.—Indeed one of the Gentlemen candidly declared that a great object with him, for wishing this, was, to effect a viva voce vote in that body (he added however that he was not without hopes of accomplishing this without)—To this I replied, finding all three were opposed to the balloting system, that nothing would sooner induce me to relinquish my mode of nominating by written messages, than to accomplish this end.—Thus the matter stands for my further consideration.

"What do you think I had best do?—

"I am willing to pursue that line of conduct which shall appear to be most conducive to the public good, without regard to the indulgence of my own inclination which (I confess, and for other reasons in addition to those which are enumerated, although they are secondary) would not be gratified by personal nominations.—

"The period is now arrived when the seat of the vacant judge in the Western district is to be filled.—Would Col^o Carrington do you think, be pleased with this appointment? or are you acquainted with any professional character of fitness for the Office, South of New Jersey, that would accept it.—

"I have had some conversation with Mr Jay respecting his views to Office, which I will communicate to you at our first interview—and this, if *perfectly* convenient and agreeable to you, may be this afternoon as I shall be at home, and *expect* no comp'y

"I am Yrs Affect'ly

"GEORGE WASHINGTON"

Washington asks Madison's counsel on
several matters of national
importance.

- 57 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Folio. 2 pages. With address. [No date].
On the back of the letter Mr. Madison has written—
"date to be inferred in 1789-90."

"Mr Madison,

"Confidential

"The points which at present occur to me, and on which I wish your aid, are brought to view in the enclosed statement—I give you the trouble of receiving this evening that you may (if other matters do not interfere) suffer

"to

to run through your Mind between this and tomorrow afternoon when I shall expect to see you at the appointed time.—

“ Besides the enclosed

Would it do *now* that Mr Barton has declined the Judges Seat (Western Territory) to nominate Col Carrington for that Office?—If not, can you think of any other that would suit him, of new creation—by this I mean, which has not an actual occupant or one who from similarity of Office may have better pretensions to it.

“ Can you bring to mind any fit character for the vacancy just mentioned (west of New Jersey)—As Virg’a has given & may furnish characters for important Offices probably it would be better to exclude her also on this occasion.—

“ What sort of a character in point of respectability and fitness for this Office has Maj’r Turner late of So Carolina now of Philadelphia—

“ Have you any knowledge of the character of Mr Laurence?—a practising Attorney and Son in law to General St Clair

“ What can I do with A——L——he has applied to be nominated one of the Associate Judges—but I cannot bring my mind to adopt the request—The opinion entertained of him by those with whom I am most conversant is unpropitious and yet few men have received more marks of public favor & confidence than he has—These contradictions are embarrassing.—

“ Should the sense of the Senate be taken on the propriety of sending public characters abroad—say, to England, Holland & Portugal—and of a day for thanksgiving?

“ Would it be well to advise with them before the adjournment, on the expediency and justice of demanding a surrender of our Posts?

“ Being clearly of opinion that there ought to be a difference in the wages of the members of the two branches of the Legislature would it be politic or prudent in the President when the Bill comes to him to send it back with his reasons for non-concurring

“ Yrs Sincerely

“ GEO WASHINGTON ”

Washington’s Opinion of the amendments to the Constitution proposed by James Madison at the first Session of Congress, in 1789.

58 Washington, General George. Autograph Opinion. Quarto.

“ *Mr Madison*

“ As far as a momentary consideration has enabled me to judge, I see nothing exceptionable in the proposed amendments.—Some of them, in my opinion, are importantly necessary,—others, though in themselves (in my conception) not very essential, are necessary to quiet the fears of some respectable characters and well meaning Men.—Upon the whole, therefore, not foreseeing any evil consequences that can result from their adoption, they have my wishes for a favourable reception in both houses.”

Note, in the handwriting of Mr. Madison :—

“ Amendments to the Constitution proposed by J. M. at the first Session of Congress in 1789 ”

Washington gives his reasons for "drawing the first characters of the Union into the Judiciary," and nominates Edmund Randolph for the office of Attorney-General.

- 59 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter. Signed with initials. Quarto. 2 pages. No date. [1789-90].

"*Mr Randolph, in this character, I would prefer to any person I am acquainted of not superior abilities, from habit of intimacy with him.

" *Mr Madison,*

" My solicitude for drawing the first characters of the Union into the Judiciary, is such that, my cogitations on this subject last night (after I parted with you) have almost determined me (as well for the reason just mentioned, as to silence the clamours, or more properly, *soften* the disappointment of smaller characters—to nominate Mr Blair and Col^o Pendleton as Associate & District Judges.—And Mr E Randolph for the Attorney General trusting to their acceptance*

" Mr Pendleton could not I fear discharge, and in that case I am sure would not undertake, to execute the duties of an Associate under the present form of the Act. But he may be able to fulfil those of the District—The Salary I believe is greater than what he now has; and he would *see* or it might be *explained* to him, the reason of his being preferred to the District Court rather than to the Supreme Bench; though I have no objection to nominating him to the latter, if it is conceived that his health is competent, and his mental faculties unimpaired, by age.

" His acceptance of the first would depend in a great measure, I presume, upon the light in which the District Judges are considered—that is—whether superior in Rank to any State Judges.

" I am very troublesome, but you must excuse me.—Ascribe it to friendship and confidence, and you will do justice to my motives,—Remember the Attorney and Marshall for Kentucky, and forget not to give their Christian names.—

" Yours ever
" G. W."

- 60 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter. In the third person. Folio. No date.

" *Mr Madison,*

" Mr Madison having been so obliging as to draw the answer to the Address of the House of representatives—G. W. would thank him for doing the same to that of the Senate.—If he receives it any time this day or tomorrow morning it will be sufficient.

" Sunday—7 O'clock
" A M "

Washington's Letter expressing pleasure at Mr. Jefferson's acceptance of the appointment of Secretary of State.

- 61 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Quarto. No date. With address.

"Mr. Madison.

"Sunday Morning

"My dear Sir,

"I return Mr. Jefferson's letter with thanks for the perusal of it.—I am glad he has resolved to accept the appointment of Secretary of State, but sorry it is so repugnant to his own inclinations, that it is done.—Sincerely & Affec'tly

I am—Y^rs

"GEO WASHINGTON"

- 62 Washington, General George. Autograph Note.
Unsigned. Quarto. No date. [December 11, 1790].
With address.

"Mr. Madison.

"Let me entreat you to finish the good offices you have begun for me, by giving short answers (as can be with propriety) to the enclosed addresses—I must have them ready by Monday."

- 63 Washington, General George. Part of Autograph Letter. [Fourteen lines]. Quarto. Mount Vernon, October 10, 1791. To James Madison.

- 64 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
In the third person. Octavo. With address.

"If Mr. Madison can make it convenient to call upon the P——between eight and nine this forenoon and spend half an hour it would oblige him.—

"If inconvenient, then at Six in the Afternoon

"Saturday 5th May

"1792"

- 65 Washington, General George. Two impressions in red wax, from his seal.

The Gem
of the Collection

WASHINGTON'S
FAREWELL ADDRESS

The most valuable of all
his Letters

~~83~~ See other side (Lot 66) and fac-simile of letter.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

Washington's Letter to James Madison requesting him to write a valedictory address from him to the public, and outlining what he would like to have incorporated in it.

- 66 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter. Signed. Quarto. 6 pages. On his private water-marked paper.

"Mount Vernon May 20th, 1792.

"*James Madison Jun'r Esq'r*

"My dear Sir,

"As there is a possibility if not a probability, that I shall not see you on your return home ;—or, if I should see you, that it may be on the road and under circumstances which will prevent my speaking to you on the subject we last conversed upon ; I take the liberty of committing to paper the following thoughts, and requests.

"I have not been unmindful of the sentiments expressed by you in the conversations just alluded to :—on the contrary I have again and again revolved them, with thoughtful anxiety ; but without being able to dispose my mind to a longer continuation in the Office I have now the honor to hold.—I therefore still look forward to the fulfilment of my fondest and most ardent wishes to spend the remainder of my days (which I can not expect will be many) in ease & tranquility.

"Nothing short of conviction that my dereliction of the Chair of Government (if it should be the desire of the people to continue me in it) would involve the Country in serious disputes respecting the chief Magistrate, & the disagreeable consequences which might result therefrom in the floating, & divided opinions which seem to prevail at present, could, in any wise, induce me to relinquish the determination I have formed and of this I do not see how any evidence can be obtained previous to the Election—My vanity, I am sure, is not of that cast as to allow me to view the subject in this light

"Under these impressions then, permit me to reiterate the request I made to you at our last meeting—namely—to think of the proper time, and the best mode of announcing the intention ; and that you would prepare the latter.—In revolving this subject myself, my judgment has always been embarrassed—On the one hand, a previous declaration to retire, not only carries with it the appearance of vanity & self importance, but it may be construed into a manœuvre to be invited to remain—And on the other hand, to say nothing, implies consent ; or, at any rate, would leave the matter in doubt ; and to decline afterwards might be deemed as bad, & uncandid.

"I would fain carry my request to you farther than is asked above, although I am sensible that your compliance with it must add to your trouble, but as the recess may afford you leasure, and I flatter myself you have dispositions to oblige me, I will, without apology desire (if the measure in itself

"should

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WASHINGTON

FAREWELL

FACSIMILE
OF
WASHINGTON'S OUTLINE DRAFT
OF HIS
FAREWELL ADDRESS.

REPRODUCED BY
THE LEVYTYPE COMPANY,
PHILADELPHIA.

PRINTED BY
D. F. ROWE & CO.,
PHILADELPHIA.

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Mount Vernon May 20. 1792.

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should I think you as proper & likely to pro-
duce public good, or private honor) that you
would turn your thoughts to a Valadecton
address from me to the public, expressing
in plain & modest terms. That having been
honored with the Presidential Chain, and to
the best of my abilities contributed to the Or-
ganization & Administration of the govern-
ment. - That having arrived at a period
of life when the private walks of it, in the
shade of retirement, becomes necessary, and
will be most pleasing to me, - and the spirit
of the government may render a rotation
in the Elective Officers of it more congenial
with their ideas of liberty & safety, that I
take my leave of them as a public man, - and
in bidding them adieu (retaining no other
concern than such as will arise from personal
wishes for the prosperity of my Country) I
take the liberty at my departure from civil,
as I formerly did at my military exit, to
invoke a continuation of the blessings of Provi-
dence upon it - and upon all those who are
the supporters of its interests, and the promo-
ters of harmony, order & good government.

That to impress these things it
might, among other things be observed, that
we are all the children of the same country -
a Country great & rich in itself - capable, &
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are productive of more evil than good. -

To enumerate the various subjects which might be introduced into such an address would require thought, and to mention them to you would be unnecessary, as your own judgment will comprehend what will be proper; whether to touch upon any or the objectionable parts of the Constitution may be doubted - All I should add to the request at present is, to keep the favor of our country in view. 1st The propriety of such an address - 2^d if approved, the several matters which ought to be contained in it - and 3^d the time it should appear that is, whether at the declaration of my intention to withdraw from the service of the public - or to let it be the closing act of my administration - which. We add with the next Session of Congress (the probability being that that body will continue sitting until March) when the House of Representatives will also dissolve -

Though I am not wish to hurry you (the cases are pressing) in the execution of either of the publications before mentioned, yet I should be glad to hear from you generally in or both - and to receive them in time, if you should not come to Philadelphia until the Session commences in the form that we finally to take. - I beg leave to draw your attention

or also to such things as you shall see
it subjects for communication on the
on, and noting them as they occur,
it would be so good as to furnish me
in time to be prepared and express
others for the opening of the Session.

With very sincere and

Affectionate regards

I am, ever Yours

E. Washington

Madison Jan^r Esq^r

attention also to such things as you think
convenient subjects, for communication on the
occasion, and noting them as they occur,
that you would be so good as to furnish me
with them in time to be prepared and ex-
posed with others for the opening of the paper.

With very sincere and

Affectionate regards

I am, ever Yours

Wm. W. H. H. H.

James Madison Jun^r Esq^r

should strike you as proper & likely to produce public good, or private honor) that you would turn your thoughts to a valadictory address from me to the public, expressing in plain & modest terms—that having been honored with the Presidential Chair, and to the best of my abilities contributed to the Organization & Administration of the government.—that having arrived at a period of life when the private walks of it, in the shade of retirement, becomes necessary, and will be most pleasing to me,—and the spirit of the government may render a rotation in the Elective Officers of it more congenial with their ideas of liberty & safety, that I take my leave of them as a public man;—and in bidding them adieu (retaining no other concern than such as will arise from fervent wishes for the prosperity of my Country) I take the liberty at my departure from civil, as I formerly did at my military exit, to invoke a continuation of the blessings of Providence upon it—and upon all those who are the supporters of its interests, and the promoters of harmony, order & good government.

“That to impress these things it might, among other things be observed, that we are *all* the children of the same country—a country great & rich in itself—capable; & promising to be, as prosperous & as happy as any the annals of history have ever brought to our view—That our interest, however diversified in local & smaller matters, is the same in all the great & essential concerns of the Nation.—That the extent of our Country—the diversity of our climate & soil.—and the various productions of the States consequent of both, are such as to make one part not only convenient, but perhaps indispensably necessary to the other part;—and may render the whole (at no distant period) one of the most independant in the world.—That the established government being the work of our own hands, with the seeds of amendment engrafted in the Constitution, may by wisdom, good dispositions, and mutual allowances, aided by experience, bring it as near to perfection as any human institution ever aproximated; and therefore, the only strife among us ought to be, who should be foremost in facilitating & finally accomplishing such great & desirable objects, by giving every possible support, & cement to the Union—That however necessary it may be to keep a watchful eye over public servants, & public measures yet there ought to be limits to it, for suspicions unfounded, and jealousies too lively, are irritating to honest feelings; and oftentimes are productive of more evil than good.—

“To enumerate the various subjects which might be introduced into such an Address would require thought; and to mention them to you would be unnecessary, as your own judgment will comprehend *all* that will be proper; whether to touch, specifically, any of the exceptionable parts of the Constitution may be doubted.—All I shall add therefore at present, is, to beg the favor of you to consider—1st the propriety of such an address—2d if approved, the several matters which ought to be contained in it—and 3d the time it should appear, that is, whether at the declaration of my intention to withdraw from the service of the public—or to let it be the closing Act of my Administration—which will end with the next Session of Congress (the probability being that that body will continue sitting until March,) when the House of Representatives will also dissolve—

“Though I do not wish to hurry you (the cases not pressing) in the execution of either of the publications beforementioned, yet I should be glad to hear from you generally on both—and to receive them in time, if you should not come to Philadelphia until the Session commences, in the form they are finally to take.—I beg leave to draw your attention also to such things as you shall conceive fit subjects for Communication on that occasion, and, noting them as they occur, that you would be so good as to furnish me with them in time to be prepared and engrafted with others for the opening of the Session—

“With very sincere and

“Affectionate regard

“I am—ever yours

“GEO WASHINGTON”

Washington's Letter to Mr. Madison sympathising with Philadelphia in her great affliction of the yellow fever, and suggesting that Congress meet elsewhere during the continuance of the malady.

67 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter. Signed. Quarto. 4 pages.

"Mount Vernon 14th Oct. 1793

"*James Madison Jun'r Esq'r.*

"My dear Sir,

(Private)

"The calamitous situation of Philadelphia—and the little prospect from present appearances of its eligibility to receive Congress by the first Monday in Decemb'r involves a serious difficulty.—

"It has been intimated by some, that the President ought, by Proclamation, to convene Congress a few days before the above period, at some other place—and by others, (although in extraordinary cases he has power to convene, yet) that he has none to change the place.—Mr Jefferson when here on his way home, was of the latter opinion;—but the laws were not fully examined;—nor was the case at that time so serious as it now is.—From the Attorney General to whom I have since written on this subject, requesting an Official opinion, I have received no answer; nor is it probable I shall do it soon, as I believe he has no communication with the Post Office.—

"Time presses, and the Malady at the usual place of meeting is becoming more & more alarming.—What then, do you think is the most advisable course for me to pursue in the present exigency?—Summons Congress to meet at a certain time & place in their legislative capacity?—Simply to state facts, & say I will meet the members at the time & place just mentioned, for ulterior arrangements?—or leave matters as they are, if there is no power in the Executive to alter the place, legally?—

"In the first & second cases (especially the first) the delicacy of my naming a place will readily occur to you.—My wishes are, that Congress could have been assembled at Germantown (to show I meant no partiality) leaving it to themselves if there should appear no prospect of getting into Philadelphia soon, to decide on what sh'd be done thereafter; but acc'ts say that some people have died in Germantown also, of the Malignant fever.—Every death, however, is now ascribed to that cause, be the disorder what it may.—

"Wilmington & Trenton are nearly equidistant, from Philadelphia in opposite directions; but both are on the gr't thoroughfare and equally exposed to danger from the Multitude of Travelers & neither may have Chambers suffice't for the H'e of Representatives.—Annapolis and Lancaster are more secure and have good accomodations; but to name either, especially the first, would be thought to favour the Southern convenience most, perhaps might be attributed to local views—especially as New York is talked of for this purpose.—Reading if there are proper conveniences at it would favour neither the Southern nor Northern interest most, but would be alike to both.—

"I have written to Mr Jefferson on this subject—notwithstanding which I would thank you for your opinion, & that fully, as you see my embarrassment.—I even ask more,—I would thank you (not being acquainted with forms & having no one with me that is.—) to sketch some instrument for publication proper for the case you think most expedient for me to pursue in the present state of things, if the members are to be called together as before mentioned.—The difficulty of keeping Clerks in the public Offices had, in a

"manner

manner, suspended business before I left Philad'a; and the heads of Departments having matters of private concernment which required them to be absent, has prevented my return thither longer than I had intended— but I have now called upon the several Secretaries to meet me there or in the vicinity the first of next month, for which I shall set out the 27th or 28th of the present

“ The accounts from that City are really affecting.—Two Gentlemen from New York now here (Colonels Platt & Sargent) say they were told at the Swedes ford of Schoolkil by a person who said he had it from Governor Mifflin that by the official report from the Mayor of the City upwards of 3500 had died and the disorder by all accounts was spreading, & raging more violently than ever.—If cool weather accompanied with rain does not put a stop to the Malady, distressing indeed must be the condition of that City— now almost depopulated by removals & deaths

“ I am always, and with very sincere regards & friendship

“ Your affectionate

“ GEO WASHINGTON

“ I would not have sent you such a scrawl, but really have no time to copy it.—I came here to look a little into my own private concerns, but have no time allowed me for this purpose being followed by other matters.”

68 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
[Signature cut off]. Quarto.

“ Friday 10th Jan'y 1794.

“ Mr. Madison.

“ Dear Sir,

“ Herewith you will receive sundry Pamphlets &c under the patronage of Sir John Sinclair.—I send you his letters to me also, that the design may be better understood.—

“ From all these, you will be able to decide, whether a plan of enquiry similar to the one set on foot in G. Brit'n would be likely to meet legislative or other encouragement, and of what kind, in this country.—

“ These, or any other ideas which may result from the perusal of the papers, I would thank you for, as the letters remain unacknowledged, and the writer of them will expect this if nothing more.—

[Signature cut out].

Washington desires Mr. Madison's advice
on the propriety of his complying
with certain requests made
by young La Fayette.

69 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Quarto. 2 pages, on his private water-marked paper.

“ Phil'a 22d Jan'y 1795

“ Mr. Madison.

“ Dear Sir,

“ The enclosed letters, with the additional explanation that follows, will bring the case of young Fayette fully to your view.—

“ From the receipt of Mr. Cabots letter until the latter end of Oct'r I had not heard from, or of the young Gentleman —Then a letter from Col^o Hamilton, to whom as you will see by Mr Cabots letter he had been introduced, informed me that he and his Tutor were in a retired place 20 or 30 miles

“ from

from the city of New York anxiously hoping that they would soon receive a call from me.—In answer to this letter, I expressed to Col^o Hamilton sentiments similar to those which had been communicated to Mr. Cabot;—but requested him, not only to view the case in its different relations *himself* but to discover if he could, what might be the opinion of others thereon, and let me know the result.—Which amounted to this—that his own opinion, tho' he hesitated in giving it, inclined to my sending the young Gentl'n the invitation that was wished—but that this was not the sentiment of those (names not mentioned) with whom he had conversed

"Upon the receipt of *that* letter I wrote to Mr La Fayette on the 22d of Nov'r and enclosed it to Col^o Hamilton the next day.—To the last of which I received the reply of November 26th.—From thence I heard nothing further on the subject until the letters of Mr de la Fayette & his tutor, of the 25th of Dec'r were received.—Since which nothing has been said or done in the matter—and I wish to know what you think (considering my public character) I had best do to fulfil the obligations of friendship & my own wishes without involving consequences

"Sincerely & Affectionately

"I remain—Yours

"GEO WASHINGTON"

70 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
[Signature cut off]. Quarto.

"Sunday Afternoon 6th Dec'r 1795.

"Mr. Madison.

"Dear Sir,

"The papers, of which I was speaking to you on friday evening, are herewith sent.—

"In looking over Sir John Sinclair's letter (since I spoke to you on this subject) I perceive it is to a *committee* I am at liberty to communicate the extracts.—This however, I consider as sufficient authority to give you the perusal of them; as the project, if it can be accomplished, in this country, must be put in train.—When you have read, and considered the Papers, I would thank you for their return with your sentiments thereon.—

Note, in Mr. Madison's handwriting :—

"The paragraph cut off, sent as a requested autograph to the Rev. Mr. Sprague."

71 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
[Signature cut off]. Quarto.

"13th Feb: 1796

"Mr. Madison.

"Dear Sir

"I thank you for forwarding Mr Campbells letter; & whenever I shall have the pleasure of seeing you (for I would not put you to the trouble of calling for that purpose only) I will converse with you upon the subject of it.—

"I confess, in the meantime, that I do not see upon what ground the application is made, to *me*.—I can hardly suppose, Congress will disband the Troops *now* in service, and supply their place with Militia; consequently, if the Western Posts are (when surrendered) to be garrisoned by the regular Troops, there could be no propriety in placing him over the heads of the Officers who belong to them.—If on the other hand, this service is to be performed by Militia—It does not lye with me to call, specially, on him or any other Militia Officer to command them.—

The following in the handwriting of Mr. Madison :—

"In either case, I do not see the foundation of the application.—

"Yours affect'y

"GEO WASHINGTON"

"Copy of the conclusion, which was cut off, as a requested Autograph for Elliot Cresson."

Washington's military orders in case of an attempt by the British to capture West Point.

- 72 Washington, General George. The Original Manuscript Orders in case of an attempt upon West Point, in the handwriting of Colonel Tench Tilghman, with annotation in the handwriting of General Washington. Folio. 2 pages.

"In Case of an Attempt upon West—Point—The Alarm Guns or other signals for calling in the Militia suddenly are to be fired or given the instant the Enemy's designs are discover'd

"The Garrison is to attend principally to the defence of the Post; at the same time they are to spare all the men they can with safety to that object to harrass and dispute with the Enemy every Inch of ground leading to the works or to the heights above them—

"The divisions on this ground are to move by different routes to the Furnace of Deane—Lord Stirling's will take the road from June's Tavern—Baron De Kalb's the road which goes off at Earl's Mill and General St Clair's will make use of the one at the Widow Van Ambroe's—

"A Battalion from the right division is to move on the road leading from June's Tavern towards Haverstraw to prevent our right being turned undiscovered.—

"The remainder of that division is to endeavour to gain the Enemy's left flank *or rear* if they should move on the road from Kings-Ferry directly to the Furnace, by Doodlestown to the same place or from Fort Montgomery thither.—

"General St Clair in either of these cases is to attempt gaining the enemy's right flank.—

"Baron De Kalb under these circumstances is to oppose them in front.—

"If on the other hand the enemy should rely more upon water transportation, sending a part only of their force from Fort Montgomery by land along the river road, in that case Lord Stirling will endeavour to fall upon their rear; Baron De Kalb upon their left flank while General St Clair opposes them in front, endeavouring to prevent them from taking possession of the heights back of our works on Stony hill & Fort Putnam.—

"Each division is to take especial care that they are not out flanked, and for this and other valuable purposes are to keep as extended a line and their troops in as open order as they possibly can to be under proper command:— Each division is to keep a reserve for the purpose of giving support, or in case of necessity to cover a retreat.—

"It is expected that the troops will advance boldly upon the enemy and by no means and under no pretence whatever throw away their ammunition at long shot—A Musket had better never be discharged than fired in so wasteful, shameful and cowardly a manner.—

"As the Country is covered with wood, is close and much broken it will be necessary for the Major Generals to fix upon certain beats or signals for advancing in the whole or part retreating &c.—

"In case individuals or parties should get seperated from the main body, to prevent which every possible care should be taken, Smith's Tavern (present Head Quarters) is to be the first place of rendezvous and Chester the second, if circumstances should so require.— "

NOTE.—In the fifth paragraph, General Washington has inserted in his own handwriting the words, "*or rear*."

73 Washington, General George. Autograph Note.
Quarto. [No date].

"Mr Madison

"As the Communications herewith enclosed will not take much time to read;—as there are matters related which *to me* are new;—and as the information respecting land transactions, and other things in the Western Country will require to be noticed and acted upon in some way or another, I send them to you together with a Gazette with a marked paragraph containing some suggestions that have not, I believe, been touched upon in any of the Papers I gave you yesterday—but are handed to you for the same purpose that they were—i e—merely for Consideration

"Friday morn'g "

74 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
In the third person. Octavo. With address.

"If Mr Madison could make it convenient to spare half an hour from other matters, G. W would be glad to see him at 11 O'clock to day.

"Sunday

"Feb 19th "

75 Washington, General George. An estimate of the
expenses incurred by the President of the United States,
from April 15 to July 15. Folio.

Although this account does not give the year, still it was evidently made for the purpose of instructing Congress of the amount necessary to support the President's household, whilst in *New York*, for one year. In the account the following items occur :—

"House Expenses, including Servt's Wages }	£553—18—11
Clothing &c Paid by T. Lear	52— 0— 0
Cash supplied Mr Fraunces by Mr Steel	
Expenses of Liquors &c not included in	
the above for 11½ weeks, viz from Ap'l 25	345—17— 3
to July 15 @ £30—1—6 per week as per acct	
kept by Mr Fraunces for one week	
	£951—16— 2 New Yk C'y
	"equal to 2,379½ Dollars—which
	at the same rate for one year
	would amount to 10,790 Dolls
"Contingent Exp's from April 15th }	£323— 8— 1 New Yk C'y
to July 15th	equal to 808½ Dollars
"Stables & Carriages	£145—19— 0 New Yk C'y
10 Tons of Hay in the Stable @ £3—10	35— 0— 0
50 Bushels Oats in do @ 2—6	6— 5— 0
	187— 4— 0
	equal to 468 Dollars
"Recapitulation	
House Exp's—2379½ Dollars	
Conting't do—808½ "	
Stable do—468 "	
	3656 Doll's for 11 weeks would amount
	to 17,281 Doll's per annum."

The document is in the handwriting of Tobias Lear, General Washington's secretary. Mr. Madison has written on the margin, "furnished by Mr. Lear."

Letters from the Honorable Joseph Jones
(Washington's representative in the Con-
tinental Congress from Virginia) to
James Madison, on the most im-
portant events of the Revolu-
tion and the formation of
the Federal Union.

- 76 Jones, Honorable Joseph, Member of the Continental Congress. Letters to James Madison, from April 19, 1780, to June 26, 1804, consisting of 122 autograph letters, signed. Folio and quarto. In portfolio.

NOTE.—*Joseph Jones was a Delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress, from 1777 to 1778, and again from 1780 to 1783.*

He was one of the most eminent statesmen and politicians of his time ; a man who was honored with the confidence of Washington, Jefferson, Madison and other shining lights of the period of the American Revolution, and the formation of the American Union.

Washington, during the Revolutionary War, invariably wrote to him (during his, Jones', occupancy of a seat in the Continental Congress) for information on the important doings of Congress, and depended on him to aright the many wrongs inflicted by that body upon the army, as well as to promulgate his views of the many important enactments which were under consideration and passed by Congress in those trying times.

James Madison carried on a continuous correspondence with him, on all the important affairs of state from the commencement of hostilities with Great Britain to the end of the administration of John Adams, and no doubt during his own occupancy of the presidential chair ; and from the drift of the correspondence herein enumerated, and from which we have made occasional extracts, we are led to believe that he depended greatly upon Mr. Jones' judgment before he, Madison, formulated his wise and sound policy in reference to the framing of the Federal Constitution, and in his objections to the ratification of the treaty with Great Britain and France.

In reading over the one hundred and twenty-two letters, contained in this file, one cannot help becoming impressed with the fitness of the selection of such a man by those great statesmen as an adviser and watchful guardian over the interests of the striving young Republic.

We advise the student to carefully read over the extracts from this correspondence, which follow below, as they will give him an insight to the great amount of historical data that can be culled from these valuable letters.

October 2, 1780—

* * * "It was really a mortifying circumstance to find the French Fleet converted into twelve British Ships of the line and four Frigates from which nothing can effectually relieve us but the arrival of a superior number of French Battle Ships and unless these come I fear many of our people not only here but in other States will entertain no favourable opinion of the ability at least, if not the inclination of our Ally to give us effectual support." [Also urging the immediate settlement of the Vermont dispute].

76—Continued.

October 24, 1780—

* * * "I presume the last Post carried the account of our success ag't Ferguson's Party by a Body of North Carolina Militia—It is said the news came to our Governor by Express from Gen'l Gates. From Richmond Gen'l Mullenburgh communicated the intelligence by Express to Gen'l Weedon" * * * "Our account was that Ferguson and 150 of the Enemy were slain, 810 prisoners with a large number of Arms taken.—"

Richmond, November 5, 1780—

* * * "Letters from Mullenburgh of the 2d which arrived this Morning mention the enemy all in Portsmouth the Ships in the Rhode—different accounts as to their fortifying at Portsmouth—certain intelligence is expected at any moment from Col Gibson who is down with a party for that purpose," * * * "A few days past we had very flattering accounts from the South (Cornwallis and his whole army in captivity) the hope of its being true though not strong in me from the imperfection of the intelligence has died away in every one for want of confirmation." [Also recommends vigorous methods for circulating the currency adopted by Congress, and regrets the inattendant of the members of the House of Delegates of Virginia, and prophesying evil results for their lack of spirit in not attending to the affairs of state at this critical moment].

Richmond, November 10, 1780—

* * * "On the fourth instant one of our Light Horsemen met and closely interrogated a suspected person whose conscious Guilt at length manifested itself and induced the Horseman to search him, when he found in his possession a Letter written on very thin or silk paper from Gen'l Lesly to L. Cornwallis informing his Lordship he had taken Post at Portsmouth and waited his orders—The person apprehended is it seems a citizen employed by Lesly who informs Cornwallis he was to receive a handsome reward if he succeeded in his embassy, unfortunately for the Ambassador he was in a fair way to receive the compliments of the Bowstring alias the halter on the 8th instant—Our Force below on each side James River must be Formidable—ten thousand of the Militia were I am informed ordered out, but the draughts from sev'l Counties have been countermanded as soon as satisfactory information was obtained of the strength of the Enemy, as six thousand it is thought will be a number very sufficient to serve us ag't the armament now at Portsmouth. It is supposed this was to have attempted a junction with the Army under Cornwallis somewhere in North Carolina but our present Force in the Field here and the unpromising that present themselves to Cornwallis in the South will prove strong impediments to the execution of the project. Our Militia are commanded by our supernumerary and other experienced officers—Col Lawson has a Corps of ab't 700 Volunteer Horse and Infantry—ab't 300 of them under my nephew Col Monroe compose part of the light Infantry commanded by Col Gibson. If the enemy stay as by the intercepted Letter it w'd seem they mean to do there must soon be skirmishing."

Richmond, November 18, 1780—

"I have your favor by the last Post and very sincerely wish the States news may prove true, but I cannot yet believe the Dutchmen will go to war. The Generals Green and Steuben are here on their way Southward—from that quarter we are destitute of intelligence and from the Army to the Eastward in this State we have nothing material to mention,—The Enemy still at or near Portsmouth and our People at convenient distance on the South side James River between Suffolk & Portsmouth,—both Armies eating their bread and beef in quiet without any quarreling that we hear of—The design that was formed to attack about 200 of the Enemy at an out Post since called in, miscarried by the disagreement between Colonels Gibson and Parker

"about

76—Continued.

about Rank—a fair and perhaps the only opportunity our people will have of striking the Enemy to advantage and which has been lost by a contention about Rank—it was not so between the five Colonels whose Militia united to attack Ferguson for there the Command was given to Campbell by several Colonels himself only a Lieutenant Colonel.” * * * [Also speaks of the mode adopted by the Legislature of Virginia for raising Troops, etc.].

Richmond, November 24, 1780—

* * * “I think however we shall give a bounty in Negroes to such Soldiers as will enlist for the War the Negro not to be transfered but forthcoming, if the Soldiers shall desert the Service, and in that case revert to the public to recruit another man in his room, If in thirty days men are not recruited by bounty for the war a draught to take place. It seems to be the prevailing opinion for three years, though I expect this long period upon a draft will be opposed, but I have my hopes it will be carryed for that time.” * * * “The Enemy have left us without leaving behind them as heretofore those marks of ravage and devastation that have but too generally attended their progress—all the unrigged vessels remain unhurt, no burning and but little plundering, and this when done was by the Tories in general and reprobated we are informed by Lesly & the Commodore as well as the principal officers of their Army and Fleet, surely this sudden and most extraordinary change in the behaviour of the enemy has a meaning which though we are yet at a loss to unfold, will ere long be made manifest. We have no late accounts from the Southward, the last from Gates, Smallwood and Morgan speak of our Force being inconsiderable and almost naked and frequently without provisions. Gen^l Greene is gone forward, leaving Baron Steuben here to arrange matters with the State,” * * * “We have had a warm debate in the House upon a Bill to explain and amend the act of the last Session for funding the new Bills of credit of Congress under the scheme of the 18th of March.—The question agitated whether those Bills as well as the two million of State money issued last Session should be a tender in payment of Debts, and determined that they should be a legal tender—Henry for the question, R. H. L. against it, and both aided by their auxiliaries took up two days or nearly in discussing the question.”

Richmond, December 2, 1780—

After explaining another Bill which had been presented before the legislature, proposing to give £5000 to each recruit for the war, he says:—“It is in contemplation to send some proper person to lay before Congress the resources of this State and its ability to maintain the Southern War in which embassy perhaps North Carolina may join that more dependence may not be placed on us than we are able to bear least a disappointment may ensue, as we have no doubt the great operations of this Winter and next Spring will be to the South. The Person is also to press the making strong remonstrances to France and Spain for their co-operation with proper Force by Sea and Land to recover S. Carolina and Georgia—a Resolution to this effect now lies on the Table, Mr Henry has sent in his resignation, no proposal as yet of filling his place.” * * * “Certainly if Lesly is gone to the Southward and reinforcement from New York and also one expected from England in that quarter, Congress or the Commander in Chief should send on the Southward the Pennsylvania Line before it is too late, for if their reinforcements arrive they will go where they please, as our army will be unable to withstand them and the severity of the approaching season will retard the march exceedingly of any succour by Land.”

Richmond, December 8, 1780—

Again speaking of recruiting soldiers for the Continental army, he says:—“The Negro scheme is laid aside upon a doubt of its practicability in
“any

76—Continued.

any reasonable time and because it was generally considered unjust—it was reprobated also as inhuman and cruel,—how far your idea of raising black Regiments, giving them freedom would be politic in this and the Negro States deserves well to be considered so long as the States mean to continue any part of that people in their present subjection, as it must be doubtful whether the measure would not ultimately tend to increase the Army of the Enemy as much or more than our own, for if they once see us disposed to arm the Blacks for the Field they will follow the example and not disdain to fight us in our own way, and this would bring on the Southern States probably inevitable ruin, at least it would draw off immediately such a number of the black labourers for the culture of the Earth, as to ruin individuals, distress the State, and perhaps the continent, when all that can be now raised by their assistance is but barely sufficient to keep us jogging along with the great expense of the War.—The Freedom of these people is a great and desirable object, to have a clear view of it would be happy for Virginia but whenever it is attempted it must be I conceive by some gradual course allowing time as they go off for labourers to take their places.”

January 2, 1781—

* * * “It seems there was a Ballot for a Person to repair to Congress and the General, in consequence of the Resolution I before mentioned to you, the day Braxton wrote, and the House being divided between the speaker & R H Lee the question could not be decided as the speaker being the person in question could not [act] in his own case. After much debate and perplexity, Lee withdrew his Pretension so that Harrison should be elected—Braxton says the old Fellow was so disgusted with the vote that he believed he would resign his appointment.

“No doubt but the Delegates in Congress by proper instructions could have done every thing this agent can do.” * * * “I told Mr Henry, the Father of the proposition I had no doubt but every proper measure was already taken and that I did not believe any good would result from it, further than might be expected from the State the Commonwealth could give of its ability to comply with the requisition of Congress”

January 17, 1781—

* * * “I was in doubt whether to write you by this post or not, as I intend setting out in a day or two for Philadelphia and should probably have the pleasure of taking you by the hand before my Letter would arrive, but as we have yet in this quarter received no certain account of the departure of the Enemy, and it is expected they intend paying us a visit up Potomack, I may possibly delay my Journey a few days to see the—of this affair.

“We hear they have done great injury to the Houses of Col Harrison of Berkely and carried away all his valuable Negroes. If they attempt to visit Fredericksburg, I believe they will have reason to repent the Enterprize, as there now is there and in the neighborhood a considerable Force, and a further reinforcement expected to Day.”

Fredericksburg, April 3, 1781—

* * * “I arrived here (Fredericksburg) the 7th day after my departure from Philadelphia.—The sanguine hopes entertained before I set out of taking Arnold and his party at Portsmouth lessened as I advanced and at length were entirely lost by certain information that the British Fleet were in the Bay after engaging that of the French off the Capes—The issue of the conflict has been variously reported—the account which obtains most credit is that the French disabled one of the British 74's but as the Fleet left the Bay two days after they entered it in quest as it is said of the French Fleet, the presumption is they were not much injured—a Report prevails that a second engagement took place the 24th near the Capes as a heavy Cannonade was then heard in that quarter—of this as well as the first engagement it is probable you are better informed than we are as I met two expresses with dispatches for Congress and Governor Lee giving an acct it was said of the above transactions, and of the Battle between Generals Greene & Cornwallis.”

76—Continued.

Spring Hill, July 8, 1782—

* * * "I intended when I left Richmond to set out for Philadelphia—but from a manoeuvre of Mr Ross' in settling the balance due from Mr Braxton, and which had by the Executive been ordered to me, I am disappointed of the means necessary for the Journey and am left to my own resources which I am determined shall not be applied to public any farther than is unavoidable, I mean in the line of my appointment to Congress, when I shall be properly furnished and I see a prospect of continued supply, I may perhaps revisit Philadelphia." * * * "The French Army are on their march, the Legion came over to Falmouth yesterday, and the Infantry are expected to be there next Thursday. De Rochambeau on his way quartered at Old Mr Hunters the night before last."

Fredericksburg, July 16, 1782—

* * * "The French Army have all passed Rappahannock at Falmouth, the last division will move tomorrow from that place—their progress through this part of the Country furnishes some of the Inhabitants with cash to pay their Taxes, —about 500 convalescents remain at York."

Spring Hill, July 22, 1782—

* * * "We have some agreeable reports from your quarter since the last post. Your letter which I expect by the post today will I hope confirm them, The evacuation of Chs Town & successfull attack of the Dutch upon a British Convoy in the Baltic & the accession of the 7th State of the U-provinces to the Treaty with the States of America, The first and last are probable and have been expected, and I am not disposed to discredit the other, especially when I reflect on the bravery of the Dutch in the four conflicts they have had with the British since the commencement of hostilities."

Richmond, May 25, 1783—

* * * "My arrival (at Richmond) was seasonable with respect to a Bill then before the House for postponing the collection of the Taxes for the ease of the people untill December next, that, as it was said by Mr H—y who supported the measure, they might enjoy a short respite from bearing the burthen of Taxes, a kind of holyday to rejoice more cheerfully on the glorious termination of the War. This Bill was by order to be considered that day in a committee of the whole, and I was in time to give such information to the committee as to induce them to come to no conclusion *then*, but to rise and ask leave to sit again that they might have an opportunity before they determined the question to hear the contents of the proceeding, relative to that subject which might be daily expected from Congress." * * * After giving information in regard to the proposed reduction of the salaries of the Judges, and of the new plan of Congress for obtaining funds from the States, he says: "Sir Guy Carleton's conduct respecting the Negro Property is considered by many here as a departure from the provisional articles, and will be made use of to justify a delay in paying the British debts." * * * "The notion of a Convention seems for the present to be laid aside"

Richmond, June 8, 1783—

* * * "We have not yet taken up the plan of Congress for general revenue—it is assured to do it next Monday or Tuesday—Mr R—H—L is opposed to it in to-to—Mr H—y I understand thinks we ought to have credit for the amount of the Duty under an apprehension we should consume more than our proportion or in other words that we shall by agreeing to the impost as recommended pay more than our quota of the debt.—I Taylor wholly against the plan, G. N—l—s thinks with H—y—The speaker is for it. B—x—n I am

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76—Continued.

told is so too, but he has not said as much to me. The two first named being in the opposition is what alarms me. Mr H—y I am told was at first in favor of the impost and had early in the session concurred in bringing in a bill to receive the former Law, but has since changed his opinion." * * * "Yesterday our Delegates to Congress were elected, Jefferson—Hardy—Mercer—Lee—Monroe."

Richmond, June 14, 1783—

* * * "Since my last the plan of revenue recommended by Congress has been considered in a committee of the whole, and the result contained in the enclosed resolutions which were agreed to without a division, the number appearing in support of the plan of Congress being so few as not to require it—Mr B—x—n and young Mr Nelson only supported it. In the course of the debate Mr R. H. L. & Mr C. M. T. spoke of Congress as lusting after power.—The Idea in the letter to Rhode Island, that Congress having a right to borrow & make requisitions that were binding on the States, ought also to concert the means for accomplishing the end, was reprobated in general, as alarming, and of dangerous tendency.—In short some of the Sentiments in the letter to Rhode Island tho' argumentative only, operated so powerfully on peoples minds here, that nothing would induce them to adopt the manner recommended by Congress, for obtaining revenue. If the 5 per cent is granted to be credited to the States quota, which is the prevailing opinion, it will defeat that revenue unless all the States consent, and N. H. Con't, Jersey & N. Car. never will, I expect agree to it. Our people have great jealousy of Congress and the other States, think they have done more than they ought, and that the U. S. owe them at least one million pounds, These notions they will not relinquish tho' they acknowledge they are not ready to settle the account, after the two first resolutions had passed. P. H. separated from R. H. L. & his party and warmly supported the granting the duties to Congress and the other revenue to make up this States quota" * * * "You cannot well conceive the deranged state of affairs in this country—there is nothing like system or order—confusion and embarrassment ever attend such a state of things. The two great commanders make excellent harrangues, handsome speeches to their men, but they want executive officers, or should be more so themselves to be useful, indeed, so far as I am able to judge from the short time I have been here, we are much in want of usefull men, who do business as well as speak to it, a Pendleton and Jefferson would be valuable acquisitions to this assembly—we want too a Fitzsimons or some men of his merchantile knowledge and experience"

Richmond, June 28, 1783—

* * * "Resolutions are to be presented to day for furnishing Congress a place of residence,—Williamsburg. The public buildings and lands or a tract of territory opposite George Town as may be most agreeable, with a large sum to erect Hotels for the Delegates, and other necessary buildings will be offered in full sovereignty—liberal as the offer of Maryland has been, our people seem disposed not to be backward in surpassing that liberality where they think a lasting benefit may result to the community.—I wish they could have seen the plan of Congress" [as to revenue] "in the same light and have acted with equal policy and liberality of sentiment.—This day closes the session.—The heat of the weather and this infernal hole at this season of the year has almost laid me up. Although Virginia may not grant the funds for discharging their quota of the common debt in the manner desired by Congress, they are I think determed to furnish ample revenues for the purpose."

Fredericksburg, July 14, 1783—

"Your favor of the 30th ult I have duly rec'd, giving the history of the proceedings that brought about the removal of Congress to Princeton—that two of the members of the Committee were disposed to advise the President

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76—Continued.

to the measure which his inclination encouraged them to adopt, I have no doubt—but why so important a step should rest with the Committee and the President I am at a loss to comprehend, unless Congress were so intimidated by the conduct of the Soldiery as to fear mischievous consequences from their coming together, and so left the business to the Committee and the President. —Mr H's excuse for concurring in the measure is by no means satisfactory—to be indifferent in a matter of such consequences, or to yield oneself up to the guidance of others, is a conduct in my judgment reprehensible and has precipitated that Body into a situation, I apprehend, not very agreeable as well as exposed them to censure and ridicule" * * * "I wish Congress had shown more firmness in their conduct with respect to the Soldiery, especially as no just cause of personal danger presented itself, and had remained in Philadelphia, notwithstanding the refusal of support by the Executive, and have afterwards taken up the matter of indignity and disrespect on the part of the State with temper and coolness and have made that the ground of serious removal to one of the places tendered them by the other States—the public opinion would have gone with them more generally than as the affair has been conducted—They are now thought to have been too timid, at the same time that the Executive are blamed for their remissness. To return to Philadelphia, is I suppose, now out of question. Princeton I presume cannot long serve the purpose. Where then will you fix? Pray inform me what is likely to be done in this matter,"

Spring Hill, July 21, 1783—

* * * "I did suppose Congress would not again return to the City, and should be sorry to hear they had done so, unless invited, or some step taken by the Executive to atone for the slight put on that Body, had I been present I should have opposed the removal at the time, but having done so, and the cause assigned, I should not consent to return until some concession or act of contrition on the part of the offenders authorized the measure. The act of the Executive must be deemed the act of the State until disclaimed or censured by the supreme authority and it is not probable this will be the consequence, considering the composition of the present assembly, unless this conduct of Mr D. should lessen the attachment of some of his adherents."

Spring Hill, July 28, 1783—

* * * "I hope such of the Leaders of the late Mutiny as shall appear to be guilty will meet the punishment due to their crimes, some of the officers of that line (I mean Pa) are if we are to judge from former transactions old offenders, and having been pardoned for similar misconduct are the less entitled to favor now.—it is to be regretted those principally concerned have escaped, I doubt whether it would be proper for Congress to return to Philadelphia, even upon an address of the Citizens, unless couched in terms expressive of their disapprobation of the conduct of the Executive, and willingness then as well as at all future times when properly required to turn out in support of the dignity of the federal government, which has (if the report of the Committee deserves credit, and we have no reason to doubt any part of it) been grossly disregarded by the Executive authority of the State, I think at present, I should reluctantly return upon the proposed address and not willingly until the legislature by some proper resolution paved the way."

Richmond, March 30, 1785—

* * * "J. Adams is appointed Minister to Court of London, out voting R. R. Livingston and Rutledge.—Adams 8, Livingston 3, Rutledge 2. The first vote Adams 6, Livingston 5, Rutledge 2. Virginia and Maryland at first voted for L. but went over to A. finally, Jefferson it is expected will remain in France," * * * "G. W. is reduced to difficulties respecting his acceptance of the shares in the companies" * * * "Short writes that Berkely had postponed executing the order for the bust, until the return of the Marquis that the likeness might be taken more perfectly." [Also speaks of a proposed treaty with the Indians and of Great Britain's disposition to settle the difficulties between them and the United States respecting the Treaty].

76—Continued.

Richmond, June 7, 1787—

* * * "I entertain hopes from the disposition of the Members convened that harmony will prevail and such improvements of the federal system adopted as will afford us a prospect of peace and happiness, I am however strongly impressed with fears, that your labours in convention, though wisely conducted and concluded, will in the end be frustrated by some of the States under the influence of interests operating for partieuclar rather than general welfare—be this as it may I cannot doubt but the meeting in Philadelphia will (composed as it is of the best and wisest persons in the Union) establish some plan that will be generally approved."

Fredericksburg, September 13, 1787—

* * * "The continuance of your Session and some Stories I have heard since my return and on my visit to Alexandria make me apprehensive there is not that unanimity in your Councils I hoped for and had been taught to believe. From whence it originated I know not, but it is whispered here, there is great disagreement among the Gentlemen of our Delegation—that the General and yourself on a very important question were together, Mr M—n alone and singular in his opinion, and the other two Gentlemen holding different sentiments—I asked what was the question in dispute and was answered, that it respected either the defect in constituting the convention, as not proceeding immediately from the people, or the referring the proceedings of the Body, to the people for ultimate decision and confirmation."

Richmond, October 29, 1787—

* * * "I must confess I see many objections to the constitution submitted to the Convention of the States—that which has the greatest weight with me lies against the constitution of the Senate, which being both legislative and Executive and in some respects Judiciary is I think radically bad—The President and the Senate too may in some instances legislate for the Union, without the concurrence of the popular branch as they may make treaties and alliances which when made to be paramount to the law of the land—the State spirit will also be preserved in the Senate as they are to have equal numbers and equal votes—It is to be feared this Body united with the President as on most occasions it is to be presumed they will act in concert, will be an overmatch for the popular branch—Had the Senate been merely legislative, even proportioned as they are to the States, it would have been less exceptionable, and the President with a member from each State as a privy Council to have composed the Executive. There is also a strong objection against the appellate jurisdiction over law and fact, independent of a variety of other objections which are and may be raised against the judiciary arrangement and the undefined powers of that department—I own I should have been pleased to see a declaration of rights accompany this constitution as there is so much in the execution of the Government to be provided for by the legislature, and that Body possessing too great a portion of Aristocracy—The legislature may and will probably make proper and wise regulations in the Judiciary as in the execution of that branch of power the citizens of all the States will generally be equally affected—but the reflection that there exists in the Constitution a power that may oppress, make the mind uneasy and that oppression may and will result from the appellate power of unsettling facts, does to me appear beyond a doubt—to release the Doubts and difficulties that arise in my mind when I reflect on this part of the Judiciary power, would, I am sure to you be unnecessary—It would be more troublesome than useful to recite the variety of objections that some raise, some of them of more, others of inconsiderable weight. Could I see a change in the constitution of the Senate and the right of unsettling facts removed from the Court of appeals, I could with much less reluctance yield my assent to the system—I could wish I own, to see some other alterations take place but for the accomplishment of them, I would trust to time, and the Wisdom and moderation of the legislature rather than impede the putting the new plan in motion, was it in my power, because I well know our desperate situation under the present form of Government"

76—Continued.

Richmond, November 22, 1787—

* * * "The new plan of Government is still very much the subject of conversation. I mix little in the crowd and am unable as yet to form an estimate whether it gains or loses ground with the members of the legislature. Whenever I hear the subject agitated I find Gentlemen pretty much divided, each party appear to maintain their opinions with apparent zeal—after a while more temper will prevail and the excellencies or defects of the System be treated with less prejudice, and more moderation."

No place. No date—

* * * "On my return the other day from the upper county, I found your letter for me at Col Murrays,—The question then depending respecting the place of meeting of the Congress under the New Government has I find been since decided in favor of New York, and the different periods fixed for the States to give operation to the government, although I am sensible the proceedings that have been had in Congress respecting the place where the first session should be held, will make unfavourable impressions of the policy of the eastern States, yet when the nature of the question is considered some allowances should be made for local prejudices which more or less actuate all public bodies when the object is local.—I confess I consider the agitation of the question by the present Congress as premature, and tending to confirm the prejudices of those of the present body, who may become members of the new legislature, and thereby introduce that warmth into the discussion of the question hereafter which I hoped would have been avoided,—The decision for establishing the federal seat of government appears to me to have been more proper for the deliberations of the new than the old government, and I am disposed to believe notwithstanding the probability of the State spirit being carried into the Senate, that it will exist in a less degree than it has hitherto done in Congress, as the members from each State are few, and these it is to be presumed will be selected from the most enlightened and virtuous of their citizens, especially when it is contemplated how great are the powers vested in that body,—May not the legislatures of the States, should they incline to do so, choose the electors themselves, instead of referring the choice to the people.—The words of the constitution are not so clear on that point as to restrain these public bodies from assuming the exercise of that power, and we know all public bodies are but too apt to assume rather than relinquish power where by any construction of terms they may interpose their authority."

Richmond, February 14, 1788—

* * * "J. Adams's silence as to the new plan of Government, if not calculated to secure him a seat in the Convention, proceeded very probably from his desire of discovering the temper of the people in General before he took a decided part—this with the admission of Gerry to a seat in the Convention when not a member and the great number that compose the Body, are unfavourable circumstances, and authorize a conjecture that the new system will not be adopted by Massachusetts.—Should that State give it a negative and not proceed to offer some amendment and propose another convention, I fear it will produce disagreeable consequences, as it will not only confirm N. York in her opposition, but will contribute greatly to strengthen the opposition in the States that are yet to consider the measure. If nine States assent before Virginia meets in convention, her course I think, will be to adopt the plan, protesting or declaring her disapprobation of those parts she does not approve, or if not agreed to by nine, she will in that case propose amendments and another general Convention. H—y will I think, use all his influence to reject at all events, but am satisfied those who are for it as it stands, and those who wish some alterations in it before its adoption, if circumstances authorize the attempt, will be greatly the majority. What change may be

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76—Continued.

produced should Massachusetts reject, cannot well be foreseen. I think however in that event Virginia will propose amendments and another Convention, and I trust such will be the conduct of Massachusetts rather than hazard the loss of the System, and the mischievous consequences that may result from disagreement and delay. I congratulate my friend Griffin on his being placed in the chair to whom be pleased to present my best wishes. R—d—h, R. H. L, M—n, have been assailed in our papers."

Richmond, October 20, 1788—

* * * "The Go—r has it in contemplation to bring forward the adoption of the measure purposed by N. Y. for another gen'l Convention, it is said the citizens of W^{msb}'g, are not fond of the measure, and he says unless they will send him unfettered in that respect, he shall decline serving through this session."

Richmond, April 5, 1789—

* * * "The Bust of the Marquis arrived at Baltimore from whence we have had it transported to this place, which it reached a few days past.—how or where it happened I know not, but so it is, that on opening the cases wherein it was enclosed, a part of the nose was found broken off, the pieces were in the case excepting the thin part which separates the nostrils, we have engaged a man here the best qualified of any we could procure to repair the injury, and he thinks he can restore the piece without any material change in the appearance of that part of the bust—should he fail the accident will prove a disagreeable circumstance."

May 10, 1789—

* * * "The General's journey to N. York shows the people still retain the same respect and veneration for his person and character they heretofore entertained, and altho' he is little captivated by ceremonial distinctions, yet he could not fail of being sensibly gratified by such universal demonstrations of affection as were exhibited through his progress, among them none I conceive could be more pleasing than his reception at Trenton bridge."

Fredericksburg, May 28, 1789—

* * * "We have heard much of the disagreement between the two houses respecting titles and the rules to be established for their correspondence—if report speaks truth they have manifested a strong desire for titles and pre-eminence—how comes it that the doors where the Senate sit in their legislative capacity are shut and those of the representatives open—it appears to be equally proper and necessary for the information and satisfaction of the people that their conduct and proceedings in the character I have mentioned should be as public and well known as that of the other house, and I am inclined to think had the public ear listened to their proceedings on the above subjects of discussion, their propositions would have been more equal and their pretensions less lofty than they were.—I am pleased with the plain manly stile of address 'G. W. president, &c.' the present name wants no title to grace it and should the office be filled by an unworthy person, the stile will not dignify the man, or cast a beam of light around his head."

Fredericksburg, July 3, 1789—

* * * "As far as my observations extend the allowance to the V. P. is thought high—This may be owing to the want of information what reasons exist for a high allowance to that officer acting as it is supposed he generally will do as president of the Senate—The current of opinion too serves to run in favor of 4 instead of 6 dollars for the members of both branches, having heard no distinction made respecting their pay; though there may be good reasons for making the Senators a higher allowance than the representatives"

76—Continued.

Fredericksburg, March 2, 1792—

"I have received your letter of the 21st last month, and thank you for the communications it contains, unquestionably the Secretary of State would have been a preferable arrangement to the one provided for by the act in case of a vacancy in the Executive office—whatever may be said in favor of the pro tem president of the Senate or Speaker of the H. R as *officers* (and it will be difficult to satisfy an indifferent mind they could have been contemplated by the framers of the Constitution) the incompatibility of Executing the Legislative and Executive functions by the same person, would, I should have thought, have silenced the advocates for them in preference to the other—besides the Secretary of State (let him be who he may) from the nature and duties of his office must be the best qualified and the fittest person to discharge the pro tem. duties of the Executive office until the constitutional mode shall supply the vacancy. In this as in a variety of other instances we discover the old spirit appearing which often stalked forth under the former government, locality and discordant interests and views. Our new system like all parchment securities cannot defend us against the attacks of artfull and designing men—words specifying powers given, tho' commonly well understood to serve particular purposes, are but too often strangely twisted and tortured into meanings they were not conceived to bear, but general words open field for those cavillers, where they may range at large and say and do what they please, under the ambiguity of language, unfortunately our new paper security is in some parts exposed to these attacks, and will be found a flimsy defence against measures supported by a powerful party interest."

Fredericksburg, February 7, 1793—

* * * "The good fortune of the Frenchmen seems to be joyfully entertained by the Republicans in Boston, and the public display of their joy, will, I hope produce a good effect on the minds of many of the people in that quarter, and revive their attachment to, and call forth their efforts to maintain those republican sentiments for which they were once distinguished, but which for some time past seems to have languished among them from, I hope, a supposed state of security, rather than any real change in their principles respecting government."

Fredericksburg, January 8, 1794—

* * * "The present moment I confess appears to me very critical with respect to ourselves, as with both France and G. Britain, as also Spain, we have some serious questions to settle. It is strange we have not for several weeks had any European intelligence of consequence, and yet I think the papers announce some arrivals from that quarter. Although there may be propriety in the distance maintained between the Executive and Mr. Genet, I am pleased to hear it did not extend altogether to the legislature, for although he may be wrong as I think his conduct in some things has been so, had they pursued the example of the Executive it would have had the appearance of prejudging or prejudice respecting those matters which he proposed to apply to them on. You are the best Judge how far it would be prudent for the legislature to support the Executive in the extent of their proceedings respecting the French nation.—If he has been wrong I would touch his faults with a gentle hand.—I would not irritate the nation because he has been imprudent."

Fredericksburg, January 25, 1794—

* * * "I have yours enclosing a paper of the 20th inst. which rather weakens than strengthens the report of the good fortune of the French in vanquishing and capturing the D. York & his Army, and of the retaking Toulon—events if they shall be verified that cannot fail to make a deep impression in the British nation and increase the number of opponents to the prosecution of the War.—The vote against referring to the S. in the ways and means for raising the necessary sum for defense, affords a gleam of hope that the influence of that department has not a majority in your House, tho' I fear it

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76—Continued.

will be found from some determinations in the Senate that the greater number still consists of the old leaven.—If our legislature shall not by some proper regulations counteract the British policy respecting our commerce, and in an effectual manner too, we shall be contemptible in the eyes of all other nations who possess ideas of independence and national honor—these things have to me appeared so proper that I was among the number of those who in this State before general regulations could be effected was disposed to enact laws to counteract, so far as we were able, the policy of their navigation act. It should have been among the first acts of the present government, and now when so many additional reasons concur to justify the measure, it is astonishing to find any advocates for continuing the old system which is so pernicious to our prosperity and dishonourable to those who advocate and support it.”

Fredericksburg, February 8, 1794—

* * * “It has turned out much as I expected—there are few men who possess sufficient public spirit to relinquish or hazard individual interest for general good—British credit still maintains its influence and will continue to do so especially when aided by the monied interest of this country, which will generally be in concert to prevent any measure that may eventually effect either—I fear the longer we continue under this influence, the more powerfull it will become and we shall be tugging at the oar, for the benefit and aggrandisement of the British nation, in a state of debasement more dishonourable than when we laboured for them as Colonists, to which humble station I would rather submit than under the character of free and independent tamely acquiesce in those measures their convenience and insolent pride shall from time to time dictate. It gives me pleasure to hear Genet may, tho’ recalled, escape that censure and disgrace generally attending such events, altho’ impudent I do not wish the Executive to obtain a complete triumph.”

Fredericksburg, March 4, 1794—

* * * “The People of that city [Boston] in general felt a degree of resentment to the unjust and unprecedented conduct of the British nation towards us, the knowledge that we have nothing to hope or expect from them in the future but a continuation of the like treatment, cannot fail to excite in them just resentment, the adoption of such measures as are calculated to counteract the unwarrantable policy of the British nation,—their present policy and views, so far as they can be seen through, appear to me to be replete with danger to the future freedom of commerce and navigation, for what is it they may not attempt, if not accomplish, (stimulated by pride and avarice) when they shall possess all the great maritime ports of France” * * * “From experience we know the British nation disposed to dictate what shall be law on the water, and to make that Trade contraband and neutral property liable to seizure and condemnation which the law of nations does not justify, and why, because she has Power, and having Power may enforce obedience and submission to her will,—Thus the strong who are regardless of Law kick and luffet the weak, and if they complain, or speak big or saucily are kicked and cuffed again, untill they tamely submit to the insolent and overbearing hand of oppression. If I am to be a drudge of another, let me have the consolation to know that I have not tamely or voluntarily submitted to that slavish condition, but am reduced to it by force, not consent.”

Fredericksburg, November 16, 1794—

* * * “Mr J’s representation was not in the stile of firm demand for compensation for injuries done to our citizens but rather supplicating the benevolence of his Britannic Majesty for relief—What his Powers or instructions were I know not, but if they were such as to justify the language of his representation, they merit contempt rather than applause. Grenville’s answer is a palpable evasion of justice or rather a dishonourable denial of it, The injuries have been done under the authority of the nation—The nation therefore should redress them—Can Americans expect justice from the courts while the acts of the King in council are the rule of decision?”

76—Continued.

Fredericksburg, December 26, 1794—

* * * "For God's sake get Mr Randolph to let me know what sum I can depend on from Philad'a, the balance of 1500 becomes due 1st Jan'y, and if I am to sell Negroes to make it up the sooner I know it the better as now is the time to place them on a Plantation or hire them out."

Fredericksburg, January 23, 1795—

* * * "Nothing final has I presume been yet effected by Mr Jay, or it would be laid before the legislature and if any thing beneficial to this Country is ultimately obtained from G. Britain we may ascribe it altogether to her distressed situation in consequence of the success of the French republic." * * * "The crowned heads appear to be so humbled that I expect they will not strenuously contend for a renunciation of those republican principles which they asserted tended to unhinge justice and subvert all order and good government."

Fredericksburg, October 29, 1795—

* * * "I long to see what R. will disclose to us.—If he shall be believed and will let out some of the cabinet secrets in his justification, the disclosure may prove useful and explain the mystery which at present envelopes the transaction. I fear he will be disgraced. I have no letter from Monroe since the 2d July. As our assembly will soon convene, I wish them to make the business of the Treaty the first important object of consideration and express with manly firmness their opinion of the exceptionable parts of it, I mean such as are clear as solid objections, that a proper tone may be given similar meetings.—Have you thought of this matter or thrown anything on paper, it would be well to do it so as that your name or concern in it be unknown, otherwise it would be better to avoid interference.—The writers in opposition are too violent in their attacks on the P.—such licentious charges will injure rather than promote the Republican interest."

Fredericksburg, November 22, 1795—

In speaking of the manner in which the Virginia Assembly were proceeding to discuss the Treaty with Great Britain, he says: * * * "Before they went into a Committee, the rest assenting.—King, from Hampton, arose and expressed his dislike of the motion, which he showed involved in it a censure of the conduct of the President, that thinking as he did, and believing the P. incapable of acting against the true interest of his country, he would never concur in a vote that implicated his conduct or character and concluded by moving to postpone." [He further narrates the doings and sentiments of the various members on that important occasion].

Fredericksburg, December 20, 1795—

* * * "I was apprehensive from the vote of the House changing their Speaker the majority of that Body would pursue a different course respecting the Treaty, than that which your letter intimates—nothing will more conduce to impress the public mind with an opinion of the justice and propriety of the conduct of the legislature on that important question, than a cool and dispassionate investigation of the subject. I find it has been a point contended for among the friends of the administration, to obtain a declaration from our public bodies of an undiminished confidence in the P.—such a declaration may convey the sentiments of those who advocate it, but will not those of the people at large—for altho' there are many who would not concur in any act to censure the P.—s conduct, they are equally averse to a direct act of approbation."

76—Continued.

No Place. No Date.—

* * * "I wish you may take the question on the app. for the British treaty as soon as you expect, as I am apprehensive the delay will prove dangerous, and greatly diminish the respectable number of the former majority, if not reverse the vote.—The proceedings of the Philadelphia merchants have been circulated for similar meetings through all the towns, and great exertions are made every where to obtain petitions with numerous signers.—They have been much opposed at the meetings in the Towns here, and counter petitions circulated for signatures.—Many yield to the applications on the part of those friendly to the treaty, merely from an acquiescence in the act of the Executive, rather than hazard the consequence of rejecting the Treaty which they are fearfull and are taught to believe will produce war.—It is really wonderfull to hear the observations of some persons; those particularly attached to the President either from having served under, and acted with him in the field, or unwilling or unable to comprehend the purport and tendency of the Treaty, follow implicitly the decision of the Executive magistrate from a respect for his former services and celebrated character, I am really astonished at the sentiments now maintained by the friends of the present administration, so contrary to the principles of republicanism and the rights of the people."

Fredericksburg, January 18, 1796—

* * * "The French flag seems to have inspired the P. with all the zeal and warmth for republican liberty that the French themselves possess, The strain of his answer cannot be very pleasing to his treaty friends at N. Y. I am in hopes he is veering about."

Fredericksburg, February 17, 1796—

* * * "Time no doubt has produced some change respecting the operation of the Treaty in the minds of some. But cannot alter the instrument itself which must sink or swim by its own weight—I fear your attempts to do what is right will be frustrated as appearances are so unfavourable and the resentment against Virginia so manifest.—Even the answer of the P. on presenting the flag has had its weight with many who doubted his attachment to France. The warmth of sentiment expressed on that occasion was well calculated to make impressions with those who do not examine conduct and facts, we should examine what is done, not what is said.—Genet's offence with some men was improved, The best man that ever lived possessing the influence of the P. is a dangerous man—the more so if guided in any of his measures by others who may not be so virtuous.—God grant we may never have cause to say 'curse on his virtues, they have undone his country.'"

Fredericksburg, April 26, 1796—

* * * "I was satisfied the P. meant not to comply with the request of the House by his answer to the committee. I had supposed untill then he would not refuse the papers.—Altho' when he has taken his ground he is firm in maintaining it, yet I conceived he would be very unwilling to hazard a breach with the house of representatives.—I fear he receives bad council or he imagined his popularity too firmly established to be shaken even in a contest with the representatives on constitutional ground, He should not have remarked on the discussion in the house or declared his opinion, what was the meaning of the convention—with equal propriety might you and every other member of the convention do the same, and be governed in your conduct by the opinion you then expressed, and not by the language of the instrument on a fair construction of its meaning, to avoid this misconduct legislature and Judiciary have been separated."

76—Continued.

Fredericksburg, November 23, 1796—

* * * "From the last accounts we have of the Pennsylvania elections, Fayette, Green and Westmoreland returns not in, I think the Republican ticket will be carried in that State, and upon the success of which I have supposed would in a great measure depend Mr. J's election" * * * "A very fulsome resolution for an address to the President was introduced into the House of Delegates while I was in Town which produced a warm debate and issued finally in a commitment. The parties at length compromised and reported a resolution the basis of an address sufficiently complimentary, but much less so than the first proposition."

Charlottesville, January 29, 1797—

* * * "It seems to be now well ascertained that A. will be the P & J. the Vice P.—I have for a length of time considered Mr. A. as a friend to the British nation and Government, whether he still holds his prejudices for that Monarchy I know not, but if they hang loosely about him he may be induced to through them off and assume the republican garb, the true constitutional dress and manufacture of his native soil. He has a fair opportunity by a wise and sound policy to establish his popularity and do much good—If he shall determine and persevere in his determination to be of no party, neither French or English, Southern or Eastern, but to preserve an independent Character and conduct seeking to do good, and avoiding to do evil, according to his best judgment, adhering to the Constitution, and respects the rights of the people and the different branches of the government upon a fair and liberal construction of its meaning; Then may he be happy in his administration and contribute to make the people so. Foreign interferences should be boldly withstood and rejected as an officious meddling in our affairs, for to these I cannot help ascribing principally the height to which the violence of party has been carried. Had I the power to dictate, I would recall our plenipo's and receive none from foreign powers, (I mean as stationary) conducting our commercial intercourse under the superintendence of consuls placed in such Stations as should be found necessary—entering into no new commercial Treaties, or altering or continuing those subsisting, unless, before their final rectification, they be laid before the legislature and approved by them, who best know and must be supposed better to know the true interest of the various parts of the Union, than any Individual or a few individuals not often the most enlightened, and frequently guided by the influence of party and local considerations. With foreign nations the commercial intercourse should be maintained upon principles liberal & reciprocal. Not only the chief Magistrate but the legislature and the heads of departments should pursue this line of conduct, then I think we should find the clashings among the States more easily reconciled and the general good or interest of the majority adopted and procured with less complaining and more general acquiescence—If Mr. A. is not riveted in his attachment to British measures he will abandon them or at least his prejudices and hold a course between the two nations which justice and our true policy dictate.—In forming his opinions I am in hopes he will listen to the sentiments of J. with whom I am told he is on good terms and between whom a good understanding should be cultivated and if possible the politicks of the States to which they respectively belong more assimilated and harmonized—Let us break down too if practicable the servility of addresses and Levees—I cannot read with temper the debasing sentiments uttered by many in forming the addresses from the House, nor reflect without some degree of emotion on the degrading method of the Legislature ambling through the Streets to the P's house to deliver them—abolish every ceremony that is not necessary for information and despatch of public business and which are calculated to exalt an individual so much above the level of his fellow citizens"

76—Continued.

Charlottesville, February 5, 1797—

* * * "I have not seen Mr Jefferson these two weeks, but shall I expect to day as I attend there to dinner. I understand he speaks of seting out for Philadelphia in 8 or 10 days—his trip will I hope contribute to a favourable opening of the new administration, as I am told he and A. are in very good terms, Dawson writes me that it is said he has in great measure changed the opinions ascribed to him, in his book in defence of the American constitutions and that many expect he will show himself an independent Republican, I wish this may turn out to be the case for if he still retains the opinions he held when he wrote that book, or when the ceremonial of the present government was established, I fear there will be little change in the measures of the Executive "

Loudon, January 7, 1804—

* * * "Chase I presume is before the Senate on the articles of impeachment—I do not recollect a fact charged of which I was informed when in Richmond the last Gen'l court said to come from Col Jno Heath who happened to be in the Room in the Tavern where Chase was when T. M. Randolph the Marshall came in and was asked by Chase if he had got a Jury in Callenders case, he replied he had, but said Chase are they of the right sort, are they all federals, you should attend to that, The Marshall answered he believed they were, If this be true it shows the Judge disposed to countenance the bringing forward a packed Jury in the case of Callender."

Letters of Edmund Pendleton, of the Continental Congress, to James Madison and Joseph Jones, on important events during the Stamp-Act troubles and the Revolutionary War, and on affairs of State.

- 77 Pendleton, Edmund. Member Continental Congress. Letters of, to James Madison, from August 31, 1752, to December 1812, embracing 135 Autograph Letters, signed and unsigned. Folio and quarto. And fifteen documents relating to transactions at law between James Madison and Carter Braxton, mostly in the handwriting of Edmund Pendleton.

NOTE.—*Edmund Pendleton was a native of Virginia. He was a Judge of the Court of Appeals; a Delegate to the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1775, and in 1787 was chosen President of the Convention of Virginia, which met to consider the Constitution of the United States. He declined an appointment under Washington as District Judge of Virginia. Although for a short time only a member of the Continental Congress, he took a lively interest in the State of Virginia during the Revolutionary War, and sided at all times with the struggling Colonists. His letters herein included commence with the Stamp-Act troubles, at which time he was Judge of the Court of Appeals, and contain interesting and highly historical narratives of the doings of the Continental and British Armies in his State, besides imparting his valuable legal opinions on the various modes adopted by Congress for raising revenue, establishing a currency, and plainly portraying what he considered the many strong and weak points of the Federal Constitution. His letters are well worth the reading, as they will help to place on a surer footing many items of history that are now considered rather dubious.*

We have made occasional extracts to convey more fully the great historical importance of this collection.

Williamsburg, December 11, 1765. [Should be November 11, 1765]—

* * * "Our distributor of Stamps having resigned, great part of the business of the Colony must stop & some Courts decline to sit altogether, but I dont think that prudent, as the appearance of Courts may convince the people that there is not a total end of Laws, tho' they are disabled to act in some instances, I think they should be held for that purpose and as many things done as can be without stamps."

77—Continued.

February 15, 1766—

* * * "I dont recollect what particulars I wrote you before might be done without stamps, by Courts or single Magistrates, so as to add any that may have occurred since, I can only give my opinion in the points you mentioned. As Marriage Licences are not required to be upon Stampt paper, there can be no sort of difficulty in your signing them, when issued by the clerk, as you are not supposed to know that the Bond is, or is not taken on Stampt paper. Whether the clerk can safely grant them is a question on which there are variety of opinions, as all bonds in General words are subjected to the tax."

* * * "The Countrey appears divided & I am perplexed myself what is best to determine, as to opening our Courts of Justice immediately or not. The stopping them hitherto, I always approved of as a good temporary expedient that in the Winter Season was not very prejudicial, and at the same time seemed to answer two probably good purposes, in avoiding a fresh provocation to the Parliament and engaging the Interest of the British Merchants towards a Repeal. Those ends being answered, there appears no reason to continue the means, For our fate as to that must be determined in Parliament before they could hear from hence. Why should we not then proceed? If the Act is Repealed, all business transacted without stamps is good of course, If not repealed, what do we determine to do? It appears to me we must Resolve either to admit the Stamps or to proceed without them. For to stop all business, must be a greater evil than either. And who is there that will agree to admit them? not one in 1000, I believe. For my own part I never rave or will enter into noisy & Riotous companys on the Subject, my Sentiments I shall be always ready to communicate to serious men. As a Magistrate I thought it my duty to sit & we have constantly opened Court, & I shall not hesitate to determine what People will desire me,—and having taken an oath to determine and administer according to law, shall never consider that Act as such, for want of Power (I mean constitutional authority) in the Parliament to Pass it. On this principle, upon a matter being proposed at last Court within the Act I informed the Court it was so, and then put a General Previous question whether they would proceed in any business desired, notwithstanding that Act. They generally expressed their intention to proceed this Spring, but thought it best to wait a little longer, as they had hitherto stop'd. Were I applied to for an attachment, or any other thing within my Office out of Court, I would grant it, at the Partys Risque as to the validity of it, for I am not afraid of the Penalty, at least so much as of breaking my Oath."

Edmundsburg, September 25, 1780—

* * * "Our Sanguine hopes of redeeming our Ill luck to the Southward, by a great Stroke Eastward, have lately been fluctuating; since the Account of the fleet with the 2d division intended for our assistance by our Illustrious Allies being locked up at Brest, we had Intelligence by a vessel from Cape Francois that he sail'd from thence with a French Fleet of 24 sail of the line for America, which he parted with, to the So'ward, comparing this with the Account of our two prisoners escap'd from Charles Town that they were alarm'd there by the arrival of a French Fleet; Genl Gates' information that St Augustine was attack'd, & the various accounts of a Fleet of about 18 sail having passed the Capes, a mind sanguine as mine, will draw hopes of very important events yet taking place before the close of this campaign.

"The affair to the Southward was indeed unfortunate, not only in the loss of some of the brave Maryland line & the Baggage, but in the disappointment we met of a great Victory, which every circumstance promised. I feel no part of it more sensibly than its having added another Article to the *blushing* Honours of poor Virginia; what will she come to? Her new levies are gathering, they would have form'd but a weak line at best, but their numbers considerably lessen'd by too many excuses of inability being admitted from the Militia, & their quality impair'd by accepting substitutes unequal to the person drafted, there are however some very clever fellows & I should be satisfied with them if they were engaged for the war, but by the time they learn the duty tolerably, they return, and we are to incur again the ruinous expense

"of recruiting

77—Continued.

of recruiting, which on this occasion has been enormous, I believe by accounts I have had, the men enlisted have cost on an average £5000 each, besides the Public bounty of a hhd Tob^o, a sum which at any rate of depreciation must exceed the ability of any country, frequently to repeat."

Edmundsburg, October 1, 1780—.

* * * "Since my last I have y'r fav'r of the 19th & can't conceive where the great Fleet of our Allies are? They must have left the Winward Islands, & Rodney have been deceived by them if they did not come to America, as he would not otherwise have ventured to leave those Seas; we hear nothing further of them to the Southward.

"I hope they are not in a state of such perfect security at New York, as to induce them to spare 5 or 6000 men to invade us. Our people however promise if they should pay us a visit to fight them hard. I hope at least they will do better than those who met L'd Cornwallis at Cambden, I mean the Militia. For the Maryland Regulars did Hon'r to themselves & Country."

Virginia, October 17, 1780—

* * * "The story we have of Gen Arnold's corruption is indeed shocking to humanity & I wish much to know the utmost consequences of the discovery, as far as they are manifest and proper to be made public, for I know you too well ever to ask you to reveal even to me what y'r duty, or the Interest of the States requires to be kept secret, and if I know myself I would not desire it of any one." * * * "Providence in bringing this secret mischief to light just as it was on the point of completion, has given another instance of its kind interposition in favour of our just cause, which I hope will rouse all its favourers from that Apathy from which alone our enemies can hope for success. We have just received a very agreeable piece of intelligence from No Carolina that Col^o Sumpter has taken Col^o Tarlton & all his horse but 4, with as many Infantry as made in the whole 900,—having surprized them in the Village of Charlotte when they were inebriating freely upon Col^o Sumner's having evacuated that place & retreated towards Salisbury,—the Story is not ill told & has this further confirmation that a Gent'n in this County has just received a letter from his Son who is in those parts, informing him that Sumner was retreating before the Enemy, & Sumpter in their Rear had written to General Gates to send him a speedy reinforcement, which would enable him to cut off their retreat & he doubted not to give a good account of them. I suppose their Junquet induced him to attack without waiting for the Succours he had called for. If this be true, I hope tis the beginning of a Flood tide in our Southern Affairs, after the long Ebb we have experienced."

Virginia, October 20, 1780—

* * * "I have no particulars of the affair at Charlotte, mentioned in my former, but its authenticity seems confirm'd, & as our recruits are march'd that way, I hope we may soon have an Army in that quarter to improve this beginning of a good fortune. It will be the fault of Virginia if she is surprized by the Enemy in case they intend an invasion here, since they have been for some time past in daily expectation of such a visit; how they may be prepared for it I know not, as I have not been lately from home.

"How do Congress bear the horrid confinement of Gov'r Gadsden & Co do they mean to retaliate, or suffer the convention troops to Rest in ease, plenty & breathe a free and healthy air, whilst our friends are stifled and suffocated with the stench of a prison ship, or a dungeon in St Augustine? It is horrible to think of; unless indeed it be true that in breach of their Parole & all good faith they had really plotted the recapture of the Town & Garrison, which cannot easily be credited.

"The motions of our good Allies are mysterious, but I yet hope may produce something beneficial before the end of the campaign. We have a loose report that they have given the British Fleet a great wound in the West Indies, but it is too vague to be relied upon."

77—Continued.

Virginia, October 30, 1780—

* * * “We have a visit from the troops embarked at New York. My accounts of them are very imperfect, but they seem to have divided themselves, landing 1000 Infantry & 300 horse at Hampton & another body at Portsmouth. We have just heard that they have re-embark'd from Hampton after taking about 500 head of cattle, but whether they mean to go off, or move up James River & take Possession of W'msburg, seem'd doubtful, perhaps the paper of to day may give us information, and give you also a more perfect account of the agreeable turn in our Southern Affairs, than I am able to do, having accounts of various pieces of good fortune in that quarter said to be well authenticated, but so jumbled together and the scenes at the same time so distant, that I cant develop the intelligence satisfactorily. Thus Tarlton is surprised & 600 of his legion taken, but where or by whom is not said. I conjecture tis at Charlotte by Col^o Davidson, perhaps join'd by the Groups of Col^{os} who beat Ferguson at King's Mountain.—A council of british officers & Indians are taken with many goods at Augusta in Georgia, this I suppose to be the Affair of Col^o Clarke mentioned in Dixon's last paper—6000 French have landed & taken the Savannah & somebody has driven L'd Cornwallis from his Dinner & somebody has taken George Town, but who they are & whether the same body did both I am not inform'd, perhaps yr accounts from Gen'l Gates may be more intelligible. I think the stroke the British Commerce hath received from the combined Fleets off Cape Finistere, must humble them a little & perhaps they may think seriously of Peace.—Pray is it true that a Congress of members from the Belligerent as well as several neutral powers, is expected to be held under the Mediation of Russia & may we expect any good from it, or is it mere amusement? Is a general Exchange of Prisoners agreed on, or only a Partial one? We hear Dr. Lee & Mr. Izard are with you & are open and unreserv'd in their abuse of Dr. Franklin.—They must have very strong proofs before they can effect the character of that great man, & Philosopher, so long and universally esteem'd for his Wisdom and Integrity, but I am more concern'd for our Common Interest, which must receive injury from every Internal wrangle of this sort.”

Virginia, November 6, 1780—

* * * “I judge from yr account of the number of the Enemy embarked from New York, that they were in pursuit of something to eat; we now hear they have prick'd a quantum sufficit to load their Vessels with Beef & Mutton & are going back to New York, where tis said Provisions were short, but this supply & that by the cork Fleet will relieve them.

“We have loose accounts from the Southward that the British Army to the am't of 3000, are taken, that of their being surrounded by some formidable bodies of ours seems well told and renders the other not improbable.

“Just after yr account of the large Invasion from Canada into the Frontiers of New York, we were amused with a certain account (as twas called) of the taking of Quebec by the second division of the French Fleet & Army, so long expected at Rhode-Island—We are since deprived of this pleasure by a flat contradiction of the Intelligence; was this mere invention, or had they any ground for circulating the Report. We had yet no House of Delegates on Saturday last, which with an empty Treasury, are circumstances unfavourable at this juncture. Mr Henry has resign'd his seat in Congress & I hear Mr Jones intends it. It is also said the Governor intends to resign. It is a little cowardly to quit our Posts in a bustling time.”

Virginia, November 13, 1780—

* * * “Am pleased to hear the former account of the Arrival of the cork fleet proved premature, since we are so bad Christians as to be gratified with the distress of our Enemies—It was probably the transport with their new levies, which were mistaken for the others.

“The Enemy here have collected a handsome recruit of Provisions, but whether they mean to carry them to their friends at New York, or to stay

“here

77—Continued.

here & consume the stock, yet remains a doubt, since their continuing to fortify at Portsmouth & the Great bridge, indicates the latter, & yet their numbers if we are not deceived in them, forbid such a conjecture. I have heard nothing certain from Gen'l Muhlenburg, a loose report was that they had been fighting two days, but this is destroy'd by later accounts, perhaps the paper of today, may give some account of that as well as the Enemys Southern Army, who it is said have escap'd our parties, & are like to get safe to Charles-Town. The Enquiry into Gen'l Gates conduct gives general satisfaction, as popular prejudices against his conduct to the Southward, ran high & such an Enquiry will satisfy the Public of the justice or Injustice of the suspicion."

Virginia, November 27, 1780—

* * * "Our last accounts from the Southward are that L'd Cornwallis being surpris'd at a Tory's house at dinner, Rode off thro' a hot fire of the Militia & went off immediately in a litter to Charles Town; said by deserters to be mortally wounded. That his Army was surrounded by different parties of ours, all of both very hungry, except Sumpter's party, who were foremost & had the picking of the Provisions. That Tarlton's horse had made a charge upon Sumpter in his camp, but found him so well prepared, that he was glad to scamper off as quickly as his lean Cavalry could do, leaving ten killed and twenty prisoners. I suppose he hoped for another surprise."

Virginia, December 4, 1780—

* * * "Everything wears the appearance of confirming the intention of the Enemy to make a Winter Campaign to the Southward; The Fleet lately left us it is said divided off the Capes, part steering Eastward the other to the South, if those & the late Embarkation from New York should meet at Charles Town, I fear that with the Army already there, they will recover the ground they have lost by the spirited affair at King's Mountain & revive the rapidity of their progress through that state—

"Our militia are returned sickly & murmuring at the treatment they met with below, from forced marches & too *strict* attention to order, not being allowed to break their Ranks, tho' to avoid Deep Ponds of water or to drink; this brought on Pleurisie; & the death of 8 from this county that I have heard of, besides many yet in danger; I fear it will have bad effects on the recruiting service, besides the loss of some good men."

Virginia, February 5, 1781—

* * * "I congratulate with you upon the very agreeable intelligence from the South, of which you will have a full account ere this reaches you. I think Ld Cornwallis's Army must be broken & can only depend for safety upon that at Camden under Gen'l Lesly, & could we immediately fill up our line for the War, I think the termination of that evil would not be far distant. I have heard Arnold & his crew have left us, but don't know the certainty.—Nor for what purpose the Assembly are to meet the 1st of March, unless it be on the Subject of money or that any circumstance respecting the recruiting the men, may make it necessary, perhaps times appointed for measures, may have elapsed during the Invasion & require new directions."

Virginia, March 5, 1781—

* * * "In mentioning the race between Green & Cornwallis, I stated them as running Parralel at the distance of about 60 miles. It seems they were much closer & in the same track, Green's rear frequently skirmishing with the others van, to give his own time to get on, however Dan River ended the Pursuit, His L'dship having staid on the South side about ten days,—retreated to Hillsborough & there divided his Army into 3 bodies, one setting out towards Salisbury, another towards Cape Fear, & a third taking a course between—If he continues that order of March, as his parties must soon be far

"distant

77—Continued.

distant one from another, I think two at least if not the whole, must fall a Prey to the Pursuers or to Gov'r Nash & Caswell who it's said, have a large body in their way. But this is rather supposed to be a Shamade & that he will soon reunite them in one body & March for Camden. Be it as it may, I think our Cavalry must do something on this retreat."

Virginia, March 19, 1781—

* * * "The Marquis is arrived at York, in a whale boat two days after another boat arrived there with about 30 men—The residue of his men got to Annapolis just time enough to escape two Frigates Arnold sent up to take them."

Virginia, March 26, 1781—

* * * "I can almost venture to congratulate you upon the event of Gen'l Green's Battle, which tho' he first quitted the field, may be considered in its effects as a Victory; since he retreated in good order, unpursued, & offer'd battle again the same day, which was declined on the part of L'd Cornwallis—since their loss at least doubled ours, and our General & Men remain'd in high Spirits, eager for another action, when the account came away. This will however be highly puff'd off at New York, if we may judge of their candour, from the account they Publish'd of Morgan's brilliant Victory. I am happy in being told that our Militia at the time stood as firm as a Rock, tho' concern'd to hear their brave leader Gen'l Stevens received a wound in his thigh, it is said to be in the Flesh only & not dangerous. It is said the N. Carolina Militia were very bashful, but I hope they may recover their fortitude another time. If Arnold goes, I expect it will be there, which affording an opportunity to the Marquis & Gen'l Wayne to unite their corps to Green's, may draw the conquest more to a Point."

Virginia, April 2, 1781—

* * * "I am happy to find that every day proves Gen'l Green's battle to have ended more favourable for us, than was known at first. It was peculiarly fatal to his Officers, who I suppose were the marks of our riflemen, & of whom it is said he has not enough left to command his shatter'd Army—Nothing more strongly evinces his imbecility, than his having left behind him part of his own wounded, with ours, among the number Gen'l O'Hara, since dead. I think we must yet catch this Noble Adventurer, who yet appears to be the object of a special Providence, since of two horses killed under him, one received 15 Balls & yet the rider escaped unhurt."

Richmond, April 7, 1781—

* * * "Reports continue uncertain as to the Number and destination of the late reinforcements from New York. They have not made any hostile movement here, and are generally supposed to be design'd for more Southward Operations, either by land through No' Carolina or to be sent round by water. If we are to credit a report just received, L'd Cornwallis wants their assistance, for we are told that in severe engagements on two successive days, Green was Victorious, & had wounded his army sorely. This comes in a letter from a Virg'a Officer to his Lady, which had been read by a Gentleman from whom another Gent'n had it, who brought it here, both of undoubted credit,—but no Official account of the Affair is yet brought to the Governor. It is not in the letter, but a report accompanys it, that Tarlton's Legion is wholly cut to pieces, & himself kill'd, having refused to accept quarter. In this situation the time of service of our Militia with Gen'l Green is expired & he will be left a Prey to the Enemy or obliged to Abandon his prospects and fly from Victory before our men can be replaced,—do Congress mean to leave the Weight of this Southern War entirely upon Virginia? Or suffer our Main Army to remain idle Spectators of repeated drafts from New York to recruit the Enemy in this Quarter, without any corresponding Assistance to us? Surely not; as it must produce the worst consequences. I am happy to find our people willing to exert themselves on this great Occasion, but know they are not alone able to support this burthen, nor do I believe they will submit to be duped."

77—Continued.

Caroline, April 16, 1781—

* * * "Am glad to hear the Penns'a line are coming on & hope the Marquis's corps or some other will be added to the Southern Army, as I fear without it, we are not in a condition to oppose the force designed to act in that Quarter. Gen'l Greene's new manœuvre I consider as a hazardous one, which may produce consequences very beneficial, or he may be over powered & caught by reinforcements to L'd Cornwallis—I have great reliance on his prudence & foresight, and suppose he is directed by probable prospects of Security & advantage."

April 23, 1781—

* * * "What is become of the Pennsylvania line? We have been told they had refus'd to march Southward, but since that they are expected to reach Fred'g this day—had we those and the Marquis's corps, we might hope to drive off these Invaders, which cannot be done by Militia alone, especially ill found as ours are."

Virginia, April 30, 1781—

* * * "You'll probably have heard of the Progress of General Philips in this State. They paid a visit to York & W'msburg where they behaved civilly enough, doing little or no mischief. Our Militia at the latter place consisting of about 800 under the command of Col^o Innes were able to have repelled the Party who came there, but Innes knowing they had sent a larger body to land up James River to cut off his retreat, very prudently retired in time & cross'd Pamunky at Ruffin's Ferry. The Enemy remain'd but a few days at W'msburg, went up James & Appomattox River, landed at Cedar Point & march'd to Blandford, where Gen'l Muhlenburg, who had come up by land on the South Side of James River & was joined by some Militia of the neighbourhood to the am't in the whole of about 1500, was Posted to oppose them, a warm conflict ensued, which lasted about 25 minutes, in which I am happy in assuring you, our Militia discovered a Bravery which would have done honour to Veteran troops & gives a happy presage of our being finally able to repel these Invaders.—It was with difficulty that the general could bring them off, when he judged it prudent to do so, and they retreated in good order with their Cannon to our camp at Chesterfield Court house. As I have seen no official account, I can only give you that I have had from different persons who were in the action, & say our loss in kill'd and wounded & missing is about 100. They speak from conjecture only when they say they must have killed at least 200 of the Enemy, but I think our marksmen must in that time have done very considerable Execution, & left them little but the name of Victory to boast of. Reports are various & uncertain as to their motions since the action, at one time they are on their march to Richmond & at others they are at Manchester on the opposite side of the River. I wish they may persevere in their intention to possess our Capital once more, as I think a good account will in that case be given of them."

Caroline, May 7, 1781—

* * * "General Philips in his way up James River, at W'msburg & all other places, affected to show great lenity avoïding all private injury or even requiring paroles from individuals not in arms. The affair at Blandford was not so considerable as I wrote you, the number killed not exceeding ten on either side. Our Militia however behaved well, since there were not above 500 engaged against 2000 at least, whom they fought for two hours, & more than once produced disorder in their ranks. The arrival of the Marquis's corps was critical to save Richmond, which I believe the Enemy meant to occupy. They even Meditated an attack on the Marquis on this day——. When Arnold was detached with 1500 to cross below & begin an action with the Marquis's left wing, whilst Philips was to cross from Manchester with the remainder of the army & attack his right—part of Arnolds troops had cross'd
"when

77—Continued.

when Philips was induced to recal him & drop the affair, on information that Muhlenburg was coming down the South-side James River with a large body of Militia, which however was a mistake, for he came down on the North side & was ready to have received Philips, if he had attempted to cross. There was then an end to Philips's good humour, and he began with burning the warehouses in Manchester as he did before & after, all those on that side from thence to Blandford, containing it is said about 15,000 hogsheads. They went down the River sweeping all the Slaves and other property & Pillaging & destroying Houses, in which business they had got as low as Sandy Point, on Friday evening last. Our army is marching down on this side, nearly opposite them, so that I believe they will not call again at W'msburg—Their plunder is immense particularly in Slaves, of whom the Vessels lately up Potomac got a large number also, and a Vessel lately at York Town, ship'd 360 from that neighbourhood, so infatuated are these wretches, that they continue to go to them, notwithstanding many who have escaped inform others of their ill treatment, those who are not sent off to the West Indies being kept at hard labour upon very short allowance so as to perish daily."

Virginia, May 14, 1781—

* * * "Since my last Gen'l Philips after going as low as James Town, suddenly tack'd about & sailed up to Brandon where he landed his Troops. The Marquis and Gen'l Muhlenburg with a body of Militia cross'd James River leaving Gen'l Nelson with another body on this side to watch the motions of the Enemy & give him notice if they should recross the River below.—But Philips reach'd Petersburg before him & Ld Cornwallis being as is said near Hicks's Ford, about 45 miles from that Town, the Marquis found it impracticable to prevent their junction & return'd to Richmond, where I suppose he will collect his force to oppose them, but what his or their united force may be, I know not, we are impatient for the arrival of the Pennsylvania line, since tho' our Militia are going cheerfully to the scene, I fear they will be but badly arm'd" * * * "We have been uneasy about the State of Gen'l Green's army as his last letter to the Governor mentions his finding Camden much stronger both in works & Garrison than he expected to find it, so that he had little to hope & much to fear, since then we are told a Mr Willis is arrived from his camp and relates an action has happened, with the following circumstances 'that a deserter from Green inform'd Ld Rawdon his artillery was not' "come up, which induced his L'dship to come out in force to attack Green," "whose artillery however came up just before and a Battle ensued which" "lasted 5 hours, when both armies retired & encamp'd on the ground they" "had respectively occupied the night before, & Green expected the fight" "would be renew'd next morning. The Enemy however retreated, were" "charged in their retreat by Col^o Washington, who killed & took 250, mak—" "ing up their loss in the whole 600 kill'd, wounded & taken, Green's loss" "about 200." This is Willis's account who is said to be a Gentleman of credit." * * * "Cornwallis at Halifax—the Marquis has cross'd Appomattox above to march down on Philips—the militia go to Petersburg on this side."

Virginia, May 21, 1781—

* * * "It is confidently said that Clinton is arrived in Our Bay, but I give no credit to it, nor indeed can I to anything I hear even from James River.—General Philips is certainly dead & the Command is again in Arnold, between whom and the Marquis nothing material has yet happened, how soon they may begin I don't know. Reports as to L'd Cornwallis are various, he has been said to be at Halifax, Hicks's Ford & even at Petersburg, but now is left at Far River in North Carolina, from whence he sent Col^o Hamilton & Tarleton to Halifax, without opposition, nay, they are even brought to Petersburg, but I cant rely upon any part of it, Nor on the Reports of Green's being in Possession of Camden, which we have had for two days."

77—Continued.

May 28, 1781—

* * * "The noise about paper money was as weak as the cause which produced it, and proves I fear that people in those parts have more at heart the making fortunes, than promoting the glorious cause we are concern'd in, however it must be acknowledged that our Finance hath wanted Stability and System." * * * "Our people are made very angry by a Report that the Pennsylvania, instead of forwarding their Troops with that celerity, which their duty & the situation of things demanded, were throwing out Insulting speeches that Virginia was too grand—better be humbled by the Enemy & such like. What consequences this may produce, I know not, but they will be chargeable to the Companies of Land Jobbers, who for their own Interest are poisoning the minds of the people by their falacious publications, I am sorry that line was not forwarded, as for want of them probably the Marquis was obliged to abandon Richmond, which he left on Saturday & retired on this side Chickahominy."

Edmundsburg, August 27, 1781—

* * * "The separation & Independence of the people of Vermont is a very serious and unlucky affair, which I wish there had not been occasion for Congress to decide on.—The people had great reason to complain of injustice, from which they appear to have no prospect of relief, but in a separation from the State of New York, whose Government had done them the injury, and yet to divide a State at the request of some member of it, against the will of the majority; or indeed admitting a Power in Congress to divide at all, will establish a precedent, that may prove the source of much mischief at some future period." * * * "The brave Gen'l Campbell of our Militia who commanded at King's Mountain, came ill from our camp & died last Wednesday in Hanover, much lamented as a valuable Officer & man. Morgan is also gone home sick."

Virginia, September 10, 1781—

* * * "Very little important hath happen'd here, at least that has come to my knowledge, since the great event of the safe arrival of the Fleet & Army of our good Ally in Chesapeake. It was supposed that Earl Cornwallis would on their arrival, have endeavoured to effect an escape to the Southward over James River. But whether the precautions taken by the Marquis to prevent him, or his confidence in his own strength or in being timely reinforced, influenced his stay, I know not, but so it is that he must now abide his fate at York Town, the French Troops having landed at James Town & joined the Marquis, so as to cut off his passage out of that neck so long as he is deprived of the dominion o'er the waters, and tho' he might cross his Army over into Gloucester, where we have a body of Militia, he could not that way expect to escape, since tho' they are not strong enough to oppose his army in the field, they might harrass their march, until a sufficient force could get above them & take them in that neck, but this I think they will not attempt, since by such a step they would immediately sacrifice all their Vessels, which at present lie up York River above the Town." * * * "We have accounts from the Southward, that General Green's Army was moving toward the Enemy on the 18th past, which if true indicates an increase of his strength, or diminution of that of the Enemy, since on the 10th his army was only thought able to act on the defensive. We expect here to have a busy Autumn, supposing this is to become the seat of war, since the Commander in Chief is to honour us with his presence, we are daily in expectation of his arrival by land, tho' we are told the Troops came by Water down the bay." * * * "The French have L'd Rawdon, two Colonels & some other British Officers taken on their passage from Charles Town to London."

77—Continued.

Virginia, December 3, 1781—

* * * "I hear but not certainly that Mr Harrison, speaker of the Delegates is elected Gov'r in Gen'l Nelson's stead. I have no doubt but they will pay some handsome comp'ts to the Marquis so justly due to him for the important services Virginia experienced from him, and as she was so immediately interested in the great event at York, perhaps the Assembly ought to extend their gratitude in thanks to the General & the Army of our great Allies, who effected it."

Carolina, November 19, 1781—

* * * "The Official returns of the conquest at York make our prisoners much more than was expected, and I think prove that L'd Cornwallis did not make so brilliant a defense, as his former military character indicated, however any exertions would probably have been ineffectual to any other purpose than increasing his fame & Sacrificing the lives of men on both sides:— Our other acquisitions were considerable & I am inclined to think should have been more so, if the Generosity of our Illustrious General in the terms of the capitulation, had met a suitable degree of Honour in the Execution on the part of the Enemy. As these officers must carry the *proof*, tho' not the first tidings of this change in their American affairs to the Parliament, I anticipate with pleasure the effect it will have on their deliberations, and the long faces which will appear on the ministerial side of the House, is it possible they can retain a wish & much less coin a *plausible* reason for continuing such a War?"

Virginia, December 31, 1781—

* * * "Since my last Mr Jefferson's honourable acquittal of the loose sensure thrown out at Random on his character, hath come to my hand, and I send you a copy, which I doubt not you'll have published in one of the Phila'a Papers, that this stain may be wiped out wherever it may have reached. I am assured by a member of the Assembly that it was entered unanimously in the House of Delegates & he believes in the Senate, tho' the clerk has omitted it in my copy.

"I am told Gen'l Nelson will also receive a vote of thanks & approbation of his conduct, from a conviction that what he did wrong was imputable to a mistake in his Judgment & not from a corrupt heart. I am satisfied of the Integrity of his mind, but whether that should entitle him to more than indemnity, I doubt, however I have no uneasiness at their going further."

NOTE.—*This letter is accompanied with an attested copy of the Resolution of the Virginia Assembly of December 12th, 1781, returning thanks to Governor Thomas Jefferson "for his impartial, upright and attentive administration whilst in office. The assembly wish in the strongest manner to declare the high opinion which they entertain of Mr. Jefferson's ability, rectitude and integrity as Chief Magistrate of this Commonwealth, and mean, by thus publicly avowing their opinion, to obviate and to remove all unmerited censure."*

Virginia, January 28, 1782—

* * * "The objection y'r Bank was to encounter had not occur'd to me, since if such a measure was useful, it seems necessary that Congress should have power over the Regulations which were to direct its operations, it being of General & not local concern, and as the confederation had not given such a power, the medium adopted appears to be the proper & indeed the only resource, to call for the individual confirmation of the States, to the granting which I see no possible objection, but on account of the restitution in your scheme upon the Institution of State Banks, which at some future day may become very

"useful

77—Continued.

useful & necessary. Whatever evils may have been experienced & ever will be, from a Redundancy of paper Credit, yet my opinion is that the History of all Countries as well as the reason of the thing, prove that the circulation of a moderate quantity of paper may be made in every Country without danger of depreciation, & with many advantages to Commerce & business even superior to the precious metals. Its locality, the principal source of Objection, has its use in preventing that stagnation in a circulating medium, which in the Flux and reflux of the Metals will unavoidably happen, especially since the Merchants have practiced the import and export of those as a subject of trade, as they rise at one market and fall at another, instead of a mere medium or representation of Ballance and Barter. Of all kinds of paper circulated as the representative of money, that of a Bank has undoubtedly the preference, because it has a real constituent, a stock of Cash deposited & kept always ready to take its place when any foreign purpose shall make it necessary, whereas if we were ask'd what our late paper represented, candor would compel us to answer, what it has come to, Nothing. I can foresee that when the mass of paper is totally annihilated, and before a general free trade takes place, we may be distressed for a sufficient medium of commerce & might prefer a Bank scheme to any other, & why should we be restrained? If it be said that the States might increase their Bank so as to answer the purpose of all the States in the Union, I answer that a general & equally valuable circulation of Bank notes can only prevail to a certain distance from the Bank, as the difficulty of access to that is increased so will the value diminish till a total stop is put to its circulation, for instance, suppose a man at Charles Town with a Bank note applying to a foreign Merchant to purchase goods, he would refuse it, since in Vain would the holder say you may have gold for it by going to the Bank, since that would require another Voyage, not a very short one, to accomplish. In Philadelphia the note would be taken with avidity. The Notes of the Bank of England circulate indeed to a great distance, but so does the trade which centers in London, and yet that Bank has no such exclusive restrictions, a multitude of other Banks subsist & with other mediums supply all occasions of Commerce without experiencing inconvenience; that is not the Case in America, Phil'a is not, nor ever will be the Centre of its trade, tho' a considerable Branch, and remittances from the different states, will be much oftener wanted to other parts than to that City."

Virginia, February 11, 1782—

* * * "We are just now told by a Gent'n from Phil'a that the Enemy had certainly evacuated New York. I am impatient to have a confirmation of this, & to hear their destination, which I suppose is either to the Southern States or to the West Indies. We are just going to celebrate this Anniversary of the General's birth."

Virginia, May 13, 1782—

* * * "I am however in more anxiety for your next, as I expect in that a confirmation of a piece of News, which has been brought from your city that has almost entranced us. No less than Our darling Independency having been acknowledged by Parliament. A measure so pleasing and important & at the same time so unlook'd for at this juncture, when the Ministry had menaced a more vigorous prosecution of the War than ever."

Virginia, May 20, 1782—

* * * "Your favor of the 7th brought me the debates in Parliament on which I suppose had been founded the story mentioned in my last of their having acknowledged our Independence—For what does this last proceeding amount to, more than a Resolution to suspend for a very precarious time Active Operations in America, that they may be more at leisure to make effectual War against France and Spain in other parts? Oh Yes, they are to make peace with us & we hear that General Carlton is arrived with the necessary power. What do they mean by talking of Peace with us, & vigorous War with our Ally with whom we have solemnly engaged to make it a *Common Cause*?

"Are

77—Continued.

Are they encouraged to this Insult by any former instance of our perfidy, the tardiness of our Ally, or the ill success of our conjunct efforts? Let the unshaken firmness of America, the unbounded generosity of France, and the events of the War answer. This farce of Peace then is only resolvable into that amusement before mentioned to allay the present ferment, without quitting the War. Let them take care however that it dont recoil upon them with double force at some future day. And let us not relax in our preparations for repelling any Attack which may be meditated."

Virginia, May 27, 1782—

* * * "I have no doubt but they [the British] will endeavour to detach us from our Allies, by every Seducing attempt, but when they discover the Spirit of Congress, firm to its engagements & resenting even the Idea of the least departure from them, I think they will open a Treaty that shall include Our Allies, and yielding the great point to us, put an end to a War the Nation seems so averse to—unless some flattering circumstances in Foreign Treaties or success in Arms, should give a turn in their favour, of which there appears little probability. I am happy to hear, even from our lowest class of people, a becoming resolution not to purchase the peace they ardently wish, at the expense of breaking faith with our Allies, & all approve what you recommend, a preparation for continuing the War to advantage, a conduct the most proper, even if we had a much better prospect of peace than we have, since it is best to treat with Arms in our hands." * * * "I wish resentment for the ill treatment we have lately experienced at Philadelphia may not have entered into the deliberations [of the Virginia Assembly] on this subject, (for Vessels to load Tobacco under some contract with Mr Morris) tho' I have heard nothing of the sort. What will those men have to answer for who for their private emolument have fomented these divisions. I am told a Petition is circulating and signing in the Western Country address'd to Congress and requiring to be a separate State, to which many there are very averse which produces Quarrels & bickerings amongst them."

Virginia, June 17, 1782—

* * * "I have a letter from Gen'l Green's Camp of the 18th past which mentions the Imbarkation of 2 Regiments near 1000 men from Charles Town on the 4th of that Month supposed for Jamaica, from whence I conjecture that the preparations at New York are for conveying troops on the like errand, unless they have some plundering plan to execute in America. There appears no Intention in the Garrison at Charles Town to evacuate it, or commence offensive operations. My poor nephew Judge Harry, is miserable in his captivity there, confined in the Provost, he is afraid to take the Air of his windows lest some Refugee should be at hand to shoot him. Gen'l Leslie has hitherto refused his parole, altho' Gen'l Green has offer'd to pledge himself for his performing the terms of it. The present behaviour of the Refugees might satisfy Lesly of the propriety of his breaking his former Parole, if his letter to L'd Cornwallis had not been satisfactory. He was in bad health when taken, so that I suppose his situation & the approaching hot season, will soon put an end to all disputes about him, & gratify the wishes of his Enemies, unless no death, but that by their own hands will do so."

Caroline, July 29, 1782—

* * * "I am sorry poor Asgil is at last likely to suffer for another's crime, however the sacrifice is necessary, and just on our part, let them answer for the mis-application of the punishment, who alone might have saddled the right horse."

Virginia, August 12, 1782—

* * * "The torture of Col Crawford by the Indians to the Westward I suppose was in Revenge for the Massacre of the poor Moravians by our people some time ago; yet resentment for this will take place in our back people, and perhaps continue for years a scene of mutual bloodshed."

77--Continued.

Virginia, August 19, 1782—

* * * "We have nothing from the Southward since my last but an entertaining anecdote respecting Gen'l Wayne, who tis said suffered himself to be surprised by a body of Indians, to whom he abandon'd his camp; the sight of the cannon & tents standing, impressed on the minds of the Savages an idea of our army having gone off by stratagem & of their speedy return—In this tremor young Parker (who had rallied & march'd back 25 Infantry & 15 cavalry) attack'd them & they fled with precipitation, leaving not only our camp, Baggage &c unhurt, but about 500 horses loaded with skins & Furs, their oxen, arms & other things."

Virginia, August 26, 1782—

* * * "Your fav'r of the 13th gives great hope that Peace is approaching fast, There are some circumstances unfavourable, such as the attention in the Exchange of Prisoners to their Soldiers being at liberty to serve against our allies immediately & against America after a year, and Gen'l Carlton's Declaration convey an idea so flattering as to create suspicion of their sincerity. Yet, the terms after the voluntary recognition of our Independence, appear such as might be reasonable to all parties." * * * "It is my opinion that it would be wisdom on the part of Britain to yield Canada as a 14th member of the Union, since the event at some future period is more than probable, and a war may precede it; Yet I cannot but consider the spontaneous hinting of it in the manner it has been done, as having a deep insidious intention on our Integrity."

Virginia, September 9, 1782—

* * * "The embarkation for Canada from Charles-Town & New York lately announced in Y'r papers, have opened a new train of conjecture, upon a probable intention of Gen'l Washington to march into that country, and many others which I wont trouble you with. In the mean time I can't help feeling compassion for the poor repenting Refugees at New York, & wish they may experience as much Lenity as is consistent with justice and the general good of the States. No doubt the Inhabitants of Jersey must possess the keenest resentment for the loss of their near and dear relatives, and injury to their property, but as it is the common calamity of war, and the former will not admit of specific restitution or compensation, there is more magnanimity in forgiving it than in revenging, upon persons now in our power, what perhaps they did not perpetrate. As to the latter something by way of fine in the mode of South Carolina, so as to bear upon their property, might not be unreasonable. I am sorry to observe the Pennsylvania Assembly entering so early a caveat against the restitution of confiscated property. Influenced no doubt by the magnitude of the Proprietary Interest, and the Estates of some fat Dons,—and perhaps their mercantile Interest may not lead to Peace at all. But great as the Value of those Estates may be, I am persuaded the continuance of the War for a short time, would in point of Expence and in the diminution of Profit to be expected from a free & general trade, over balance it."

In the Court of Appeal, October 29, 1782—

"The opinions of the various legal lights of the United States in (the case of the three men—Caton, Hopkins and Lamb—who were convicted of treason and sentenced to be executed) as to the constitutional right of the House of Delegates of Virginia to pardon criminals, the Senate non-concurring; together with a full account of the argument, and a full review of the constitutional powers of the House of Delegates. This Great Constitutional Question, as it was called, was answered by the Judiciary, it being their opinion that a Traitor can't be pardoned, but by the consent of both Houses of Assembly." [On six folio pages, in the handwriting of Edmund Pennington].

77—Continued.

Virginia, November 25, 1782—

* * * "The Impeachment of the Governor talked of the first of the session at Richmond, died away & he is re-elected without opposition. Young Mr Marshall is elected a Counsellor in the room of Mr Bannister who resigned, he is clever, but I think too young for that department, which he should rather have earn'd as a retirement & reward by 10 or 12 years hard service in the Assembly."

Virginia, December 9, 1782—

* * * "In my last to Mr Jones, I sent him the State of the Case of the Prisoners which made such noise & my opinion upon it, which however was reduced to a thing of small moment, by the opinion of the Court that the Treason law was not contrary to the constitution. The poor fellows are since pardon'd by the Assembly upon condition of the Banishment of two of them & the third becoming a Continental Soldier for the War." * * * "The trial at Trenton will I suppose be a long and solemn one. The Judges I doubt not are good men, tho' *Whipple* is a Paltry name, and *Arnold* a bad one. The Pennsylvania Counsel are a sensible body. I don't know Col^o Dyer's Colleagues, but he will be long winded. I think I have heard that Dr Johnston is very clever."

Carolina, December 23, 1782—

* * * "An anecdote from Charles Town shews the unfair dealings of our Enemies. Gen'l Lesly consented that Gov'r Matthews should send in Comm'rs to see that the Refugees carried off no property but their own, going on board the Transports on that occasion & prying deeper than was intended, they found upwards of 200 Negroes barrell'd up like Beef or Pork, some had died in the suffocation. Lesly could not refuse the delivery of these, but in a Pet, put a stop to the Progress of the Com'rs."

Edmundsburg, March 31, 1783—

* * * "I think the Peace upon the whole, a very liberal one, and therefore most likely to be durable, never was so important a Revolution as ours, so cheaply and in so short a time, purchased, the value of which I hope we shall not estimate by the price, but by its intrinsic worth."

Virginia, April 14, 1783—

* * * "Y'r favor of the 25th past, confirm'd what I expected to be the case that Congress in the first moment of Peace, would turn their thoughts to such great arrangements, as are necessary to realise the blessings of that important event, and should they adopt measures as comprehensive & liberal as our situation requires, I can't doubt but they will be ratified by the several Members of the Union, who, now at leisure to reflect calmly & seriously without the sword suspended o'er their heads, will surely see the utility and indeed necessity of mutual concessions & good offices to preserve the Federal Strength & give it dignity amongst Nations. The adage so often mentioned in the commencement of the dispute 'United we stand, divided we fall' will be found no less true in Peace than in War."

Richmond, May 17, 1783—

* * * "I think with you that there appears no reason to suppose either of the Imperial Courts will at all concern themselves with the terms of a compromise in which they are not interested, but considering it as a mere complement, will soon return the Preliminaries with their Courty approbation. Nor do I think the Financial circumstances of Britain afford any ground to suppose they would wish to depart from the accommodation, the terms of which are as favourable as they could desire, granting, as they seem to have
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77—Continued.

long agoe admitted, that the Independence of America was to form the Basis of it, a circumstance however which Sr Guy Carlton seems to have forgot in his answer to Gen'l Washington upon the subject of a proposed interview—had the Gen'l proposed to be accompanied by Mr Clinton in his official character, at any time during contest, the opposition of a like character under the King, as the companion of Sir Guy, would have been witty, & not exceptionable; but according to the Provisional & Prelim'y Articles, the sovereignty of the United States, being acknowledged, the Official character of Mr Clinton stands Recognized even by themselves, and his attendance on such a meeting within the state of which he was chief Magistrate, was a measure pointed out & justified by the strictest propriety.—To make a proposition therefore to drag into life a buried officer of former opposed Rank, but now no more, & add another who, to keep up the Metaphor, scarcely deserved xstian burial, and that by their names of office, to meet Gov'r Clinton, smells strongly of a designed insult; Sir Guy may however explain himself into some innocent meaning & I wish he may."

Virginia, June 2, 1783—

* * * "I have y'r fav'r of the 20th past and find Sir Guy Carlton tho' he still avows his strange interpretation of the Provisional Articles respecting the slaves, has yet the caution to guard against the consequences of being directed so to act by his superiors, and to represent the evasion as his own private opinion, a subterfuge of the same character with the construction, for if he is not authorised to Act in the Execution of the Treaty, to what purpose did he meet Gen'l Washington? Was it to deliver his private opinions how the treaty might be evaded, for amusement, whilst the negroes were carrying away out of his & the owners power?"

Virginia, June 30, 1783—

* * * "If the troops were not furlough'd without mutinous behaviour in one instance, and pathetic complaints in general, at a time when they were assured by their beloved Commander that Congress had done everything in their power to do them justice, and they had no reason to doubt the success of their recommendation to the States; what will be their feelings & behaviour when they hear that the plan is rejected? Our Assembly gave a final Negative to the Bill for adopting y'r Propositions, on the 3rd reading, last week."

* * * "The Assembly have become bidders to have the session of Congress in this State or in its vicinity. If Williamsburg is accepted they offer all the Public buildings & land there & £100,000, to repair the Palace, build Hotels &c. If any place on Potomack is accepted, they offer diff't sum in conjunction with Maryland, as it shall be on the North or South side of the river. The lands & Jurisdiction which are to accompany the offers I don't distinctly recollect.

Virginia, July 21, 1783—

* * * "With your last fav'r of the 8th came the missing one of June 24th containing the account of the behaviour of the Soldiers in their insult to Congress. I wish the conspiracy may be traced to its real source, and the motives truly investigated, when I still think it will not terminate in Public good, or the redress of real injury in the Army; The citizens I suppose cannot be well pleased either with the company of their military Visitants, or reflections upon their own conduct which made such a Visit necessary, and fix'd a stigma on their public character, as wanting either *inclination* or *courage* to support the members of the great National Council, holding Session in their Metropolis, perhaps the people might want neither, and the fault was in their rulers in not calling forth their exertions, be this as it may, they do not reason badly who Counsel a return to Philad'a either to prevent unfavourable impressions abroad, or that the great question of fixing the Permanent residence of Congress may not be embarrassed, or influenced by temporary convenience. In your state of that question, you take no notice of poor old Williamsburg, and yet I am of opinion that except the City of New York, it is the most convenient place Congress can Assemble at." * * *

"Legislature

77—Continued.

Legislature is really astonishing & alarming, will they censure their Delegates for acceding to a confederation, which their Assembly formerly approved of & directed the assent of the State to be given to, or are they tired of the Union, the moment of its having accomplished their purpose? Did they suffer the Vote for half pay to pass unobjected to, & to operate as a Stimulus to men to continue in an Army under all the discouraging circumstances of want of pay & want of necessaries, until they have performed their severe part of the compact with compleat success to us, and will they protest against that vote? Well says the Psalmist

“When once the firm assurance fails
which public faith imparts
tis time for innocence to flie
from such deceitful Arts”

Virginia, July 28, 1783—

* * * “I expect that the citizens of Philad’a whilst they are retailing their merit to induce the return of Congress to their City, will feel some remorse for their assumed indifference about their making that the seat of the permanent Session of that body & will enter the list of bidders for the Honour & profit. They may Palliate, but they cant excuse their neglect to suppress a handful of rioters assembled to violate the Laws & to insult either their own Government or that of the State, but we have all reason to practice the divine disposition of forgiving upon repentance.”

Virginia, August 18, 1783—

* * * “The Address of the Citizens of Philad’a would have been clearer if fewer Egotisms had appear’d in it. Some were excusable as an evidence of their attachment to the Federal Government, and I am inclined to think that a Majority were ready to have protected Congress from & resented the insult, and that I formerly hinted the true source of the neglect. Be that as it may, that body are polite & civil in their answer, and properly avoided any declaration on the subject of returning.”

Virginia, October 6, 1783—

* * * “The question touching Garrisons in time of peace, is in its nature delicate as well as difficult, and therefore I don’t wonder there should be diversity of opinions about it. They seem useful & indeed necessary & yet have their certain evils, among which not the least considerable is that they lead to a standing Army, that bane of Society; nor is it less difficult to decide the question, if they are admitted, whether they ought to be Continental, or supported by & under the Government of the respective States where they are kept.” * * * “German Town must be named in the competition for the permanent seat of Congress, merely as another name for Philad’a which I suppose they can’t name with propriety, for I can’t suppose a single man in the United States would prefer that Village to the great City so near it. I have thought for some time that the contest would end in a return to that City, as soon as resentment for their former neglect had a little worn off.”

Edmundsburg, October 8, 1787—

In speaking of the New Constitution he says: * * * “A Republic was inevitably the American form, and its Natural danger Pop. Tumults & Convulsions. With these in view I read over the Constitution accurately; do not find a Trait of any Violation of the great Principles of the form, all Power being derived mediately or immediately from the People. No Title or Powers that are either hereditary or of long duration so as to become Inveterate; and the Laws & not the arbitrary will of any man, or body of men made the rule of Government. The People, the Origin of Power, cannot act personally, & can only exercise their Power by representation. The great bodies of both Federal & State Legislatures are to consist of their immediate choice, and from that choice all other Powers are derived; the secretions required in the

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77—Continued.

choice of the Federal Senate and President, seem admirably contrived to prevent Popular Tumults, as well as to preserve that Equilibrium to be expected from the Ballancing Power of the three branches. In the President's Power of Negation to the laws, the modification strikes out a happy medium between an Absolute Negative in a single person, & having no stop, or cheque upon laws too harshly, or the Offspring of Party or Faction such as upon a re-consideration, are approved by $\frac{2}{3}$ ds of Each House, ought to pass independent of any other power.

"The President is indeed to be a great man, but it is only in shew to represent the Federal dignity & Power, having no latent Prerogatives, nor any Powers but such as are defined and given him by law. He is to be Commander-in-Chief of the Army & Navy, but Congress are to raise & provide for them, & that not for above two years at a time. He is to nominate all officers, but Congress must first create the offices & fix the Emoluments, and may discontinue them at pleasure & he must have the consent of $\frac{2}{3}$ ds of the Senate to his nomination. Above all his tenure of Office is short, & the Danger of Impeachment a powerful restraint against abuse of Office. A Political Head and that adorned with powder'd hair, seems as necessary & useful in Governments as that member so adorned in the natural body, and I have observed in the history of the United Netherlands, that their affairs always succeeded best, when they allowed their Stadtholder to exercise his Constitutional powers" * * * He continues on, commenting on all the important points in that great masterwork of the founders of this great republic.

Virginia, October 6, 1788—

* * * "The Resolutions respecting the Mississippi Navigation are of a Balmy nature, tending to give Repose to those concerned, and impose silence on such as caring nothing about it, used the Subject as an engine of Opposition, not such is the fixure of the tempory seat of Congress. I have already met taunts on the occasion, as the first instance of Eastern *Partiality* and *influence*, which Opposition foresaw would pervade & wholly direct the new Government. In vain did I observe that the measure had a Southern Vote. The answer was that they would by one Artifice or other, always find means to engage such assistance. I feel concern at the determination, tho' as temporary it is not in its self important. Yet nothing in my opinion can make a new Government wear a more inauspicious aspect, than the appearance of favor to one part of the Society over others, a full and Equal diffusion of its Powers to the whole, is what all had a right to expect from the Ruler, and will never acquiesce in a seat of Government so ec-centric & inconvenient as New York; but I hope time & reflection will produce conviction of the impropriety of this vote, before the stable fixure, & indeed operate upon the second meeting of the New Congress."

Virginia, March 25, 1789—

* * * "The people of Vermont, like many other Politicians of the cunning sort, seem to have overshot their mark, & will deserve to be mortified at least, before they obtain their point. However their conduct unavoidably suggests, a very serious consideration of the consequences of their emancipation; that is, will they be a proper firm Barrier to the United States in that quarter giving intelligence of any injurious design or movement in Canada, & in the meantime endeavour to impede it, or will they on the contrary avail themselves of their situation so as by contracts with the Enemy or the appearance or threat of them, to gain unreasonable advantages to themselves? The former would be their duty as members of the Union, but their conduct indicates that the latter would be their Policy; besides the objections that their admission would Influence the political scale, adding weight to the Northern against the Southern & to the small against the great; and the probable bias they would feel to foster confusion & disorder as their parent, are in my mind unanswerable Objections at least with the large or Southern States, or any who love order & propriety; All these arguments gain additional weight when it is considered that the general Education & manner of life of those people, have not a tendency to cultivate a liberality of sentiments & conduct."

77—Continued.

Virginia, September 2, 1789—

* * * "I congratulate you upon having got through the Amendments to the Constitution, as I was very anxious that it should be done before y'r adjournment, since it will have a good effect in quieting the minds of many well meaning Citizens, tho' I am of opinion that nothing was further from the wish of some, who covered their Opposition to the Government under the masque of uncommon zeal for amendments, & to whom a rejection or a delay as a new ground of clamour, would have been more agreeable. I own also that I feel some degree of pleasure, in discovering obviously from the whole progress, that the public are indebted for the measure to the friends of Government, whose Elections were opposed under pretense of their being averse to amendments."

Virginia, June 9, 1789—

* * * "I hope the idea of titles is sent to eternal repose. I know nothing which in my judgment would more strengthen opposition than the adoption of such a measure, giving countenance to all the suspicions hitherto forged only, of a tendency in the Government to fav'r Aristocratic principles."

Virginia, July 3, 1789—

* * * "The question concerning the power of removing Officers was important, and twas much better to investigate it fully, tho' at the expense of a weeks discussion, than take a wrong step in it. I concur in sentiment with the decision. The Argument that the Power of removal should follow that of Creation has weight, but is abundantly overbalanced by the objection that an Executive Officer might intrench himself behind a party in the Senate, setting at defiance the Control of the President & impeachment of the House of Representatives."

Virginia, July 21, 1790—

* * * "I am happy to find that Potowmac stands on so good grounds as the Permanent seat of Congress. I could not help wishing that the temporary Residence had remain'd at New York, as a recompense for their expence in y'r Accommodation; to save the expence & trouble of a double removal of the Public Offices, and from a conviction, that Philadelphia is in bad order for y'r reception, & must incur a considerable expence to be in order, besides I doubt from former experiences, whether those Citizens may not more intermeddle with the Fœderal proceedings, than they have at York."

Virginia, December 9, 1791—

* * * "Having spent 6 days in Richmond in hearing two Gent'n on each side argue the great Question respecting the recovery of British debts, I have for y'r amusement thrown together what I recollect of the General head of the Argument, which may not comprehend the whole of those since I took no notes, & give it from a faulty memory. They spake well on both sides, but Mr Henry was truly Great, & for the first time I ever heard him, methodical & connected for 2 days & an half. Grotious, Puffendorf, Vattel & others were worried in the Service. They were still disputing on the 9th day from the commencement when I left the City,"

NOTE.—*This letter is accompanied with the arguments pro and con, which the above refers to.*

Richmond, April 28, 1792—

* * * "The Presidents getting the Representation Bill placed on constitutional ground by his Negative, and the stand made by the Judge against an unconstitutional Law, seem give Gen'l pleasure, some few present Members of our Assembly & those who have imbibed prejudices there formerly, excepted as to the Judges. An Impeachment is said to be talked of, they don't seem to approve so much the Conduct of the Gent'n at New York on the like occasion."

Letters of James Madison, from 1780 to
1785, to Thomas Jefferson, Edmund
Randolph, Edmund Pendleton,
Joseph Jones and others, of
great historical importance.

- 78 Madison, James. President of the United States. Letters of, to Thomas Jefferson, Edmund Randolph, Edmund Pendleton, Joseph Jones and others, from March 27, 1780, to April 15, 1785, consisting of eighty-nine Autograph Letters, signed and unsigned. Folio and quarto; and four Autograph Documents neatly inserted in one volume. Folio. Full morocco.

NOTE.—James Madison was born in Virginia, March 16, 1751; died at Montpelier, same State, June 28, 1836. He graduated at Princeton in 1772. From early age he became absorbed in the duties of public life, and in 1774 he was a member of a Committee of Safety; early in 1776 was a delegate to the Virginia State Convention, the first business of which was to instruct its delegation in the Continental Congress with regard to an immediate declaration of independence, and he was one of a special committee appointed to form a constitution for his State. Was elected a member of the first Legislature under the new constitution; in 1778 was a member of the Executive Council, and in 1780 was sent to the Continental Congress and was appointed on a number of important committees of that body. In 1784 was again elected to the Virginia Legislature, during the sessions of which very important measures were discussed, among them the proposed amendment to the Articles of Confederation giving to Congress control over the foreign trade of the States; the question of religious tests, which Madison so energetically opposed that he not only secured the defeat of the bill but the enactment of a clause on religious liberty which set a valuable precedent for other States to follow. But his most important work in the Virginia Legislature was that which led directly to the Annapolis Convention in 1786 and the Philadelphia Convention in 1787 and thus ultimately to the framing of the Constitution of the United States. He was a Commissioner to both of these Conventions, and his scheme—known as the “Virginia plan”—presented to the latter body, was the basis upon which the Convention reared this great political structure. In 1788 he returned to Virginia to take part in the State Convention for deciding upon the ratification of the Constitution, and to him more than to any one else it was due that that important document was ratified. He was then elected to the first National House of Representatives, of which he was the leading member, and among the important measures purposed by him were—one for raising a revenue by tariff and tonnage duties; another creating the executive departments of foreign affairs, of the treasury, and of war; and his twelve amendments to the Constitution, of which ten were adopted.

In 1799 Madison was again elected a member of the Virginia Assembly. In 1801 he was Secretary of State, and in 1809 was elected President of the United States, and served two terms. His letters herein enumerated com-

menced during that most interesting period of the revolution, 1780, and continued to April 1785, and fully portray the doings of Congress in those trying times. Many of them are written in cypher, being of the most confidential and secret nature, and are addressed to Thomas Jefferson, Edmund Pendleton, Edmund Randolph, Joseph Jones and others, keeping them fully informed of all military operations, as well as of anything of interest that transpired in the halls of Congress relative to his native State of Virginia. A great number of these letters are published in Eliot's "Debates" and the "Madison Papers," but many of the greatest importance were evidently overlooked by the compilers. The Vermont Dispute, the mode of Establishing a Currency, the treaties with Great Britain and other foreign powers, and many other important transactions are thoughtfully explained and argued. The extracts which we have made will carry some idea of the great historical importance of the collection.

Philadelphia, March 27, 1780—

* * * "Nothing under the title of news has occurred since I wrote last week by express, except that the Enemy on the 1st of March remained in the neighborhood of Charlestown in the same posture as when the preceding account came away. From the best intelligence from that quarter there seems to be great encouragement to hope that Clinton's operations will be again frustrated. Our great apprehension at present flows from a very different quarter. Among the various conjunctures of alarm and distress which have arisen in the course of the Revolution, it is with pain I affirm to you Sir that no one can be singled out more truly critical than the present. Our army threatened with an immediate alternative of disbanding or living on free quarter; the public treasury empty; public credit exhausted, nay the private credit of purchasing Agents employed. I am told, as far as it will bear, Congress complaining of the extortion of the people, the people of the improvidence of Congress, and the army of both;—Our affairs requiring the most mature & systematic measures, and the urgency of occasions admitting only of temporary expedients, and these expedients generating new difficulties.—Congress from a defect of adequate Statesmen more likely to fall into wrong measures and of less weight to enforce right ones, recommending plans to the several States for execution, and the States separately rejudging the expediency of such plans, whereby the same distrust of concurrent exertions that has damped the ardor of patriotic individuals, must produce the same effect among the States themselves,—an old system of finance discarded as incompetent to our necessities, an untried & precarious one substituted, and total stagnation in prospect between the end of the former & the operation of the latter. These are the outlines of the true picture of our public situation. I leave it to your own imagination to fill them up. Believe me Sir, as things now stand, if the States do not vigorously proceed in collecting the old money and establishing funds for the credit of the new, that we are undone, and let them be ever so expeditious in doing this, still the immediate distress to our army and hindrance to public affairs are a subject of melancholy reflection. Gen'l Washington writes that a failure of bread has already commenced in the Army, and that for any thing he sees, it must unavoidably increase. Meat they have only for a short season and as the whole dependence is on provisions now to be procured without a shilling for the purpose, and without credit for a shilling, I look forward with the most pungent apprehensions. It will be attempted I believe to purchase a few supplies with loan office certificates, but whether they will be received is perhaps far from being certain and if received will certainly be a most expensive & ruinous expedient. It is not without some reluctance, I trust this information to a conveyance by post, but I know of no better at present, and I conceive it to be absolutely necessary to be known to those who are most able and zealous to contribute to the public relief."

—To Thomas Jefferson.

78-- Continued.

Philadelphia, May 6, 1780—

* * * "I am sorry I can give you no other account of our public situation than that it continues equally perplexed & alarming as when I lately gave you a sketch of it. Our Army has as yet been kept from starving, and public measures from a total stagnation, by draughts on the States for the unpaid requisitions. The great amount of these you may judge of from the share that has fallen to Virginia. The discharge of debts due from the purchasing departments has absorbed a great proportion of them, and very large demands still remain. As soon as the draughts amount to the whole of the monthly requisitions up to the end of March, they must cease according to the new scheme of finance. We must then depend wholly on the emission to be made in pursuance of that scheme, which can only be applied as the old emissions are collected & destroyed. Should this not be done as fast as the current expenditures require, or should the new emissions fall into a course of depreciation, both of which may but too justly be feared, a most melancholy crisis must take place. A punctual compliance on the part of the States, with the specific supplies will indeed render much less money necessary, than would otherwise be wanted, but experience by no means affords satisfactory encouragement that due and unanimous exertions will be made for that purpose, not to mention that our distress is so pressing that it is uncertain whether any exertions of that kind can give relief in time. It occurs besides that as the ability of the people to comply with the pecuniary requisitions is derived from the sale of their commodities, a requisition of the latter must make the former proportionately more difficult and defective. Congress have the satisfaction however to be informed that the legislature of Connecticut have taken the most vigorous steps for supplying their quota, both of money & commodities, and that a body of their principal merchants have associated for supporting the credit of the new paper, for which they have in a public address pledged their faith to the assembly, to sell their merchandise on the same terms for it as if they were to be paid in specie. A similar vigor throughout the Union may perhaps produce effects as far exceeding our present hopes as they have heretofore fallen short of our wishes.

"It is to be observed that the situation of Congress has undergone a total change from what it originally was. Whilst they exercised the indefinite power of emitting money on the credit of their constituents, they had the whole wealth & resources of the continent within their command, and could go on with their affairs independently and as they pleased. Since the resolution passed for shutting the press, this power has been entirely given up and they are now as dependant on the States as the King of England is on the parliament. They can neither enlist, pay nor feed a single soldier, nor execute any other purpose but as the means are first put into their hands. Unless the legislatures are sufficiently attentive to this change of circumstances and act in conformity to it, every thing must necessarily go wrong or rather must come to a total stop. All that Congress can do in future, will be to administer public affairs with prudence, vigor and economy. In order to do which they have sent a committee to Head Quarters with ample powers in concert with the Commander-in-Chief and the Heads of the departments to reform the various abuses which prevail and to make such arrangements as will best guard against a relapse into them."

—To Thomas Jefferson.

Philadelphia, June 2, 1780—

* * * "It appears from sundry accounts from the Frontiers of N. Y. and other N. States, that the Savages are making the most distressing incursions under the direction of British Agents, and that a considerable force is assembling at Montreal, for the purpose of wrestling from us Fort Schuyler which covers the N. Western frontier of N. York. It is probable the Enemy will be but too successful this campaign, in exciting their vindictive spirit against us throughout the whole frontier of the United States. The Expedition of

"Gen'l Sullivan

78—Continued.

Gen'l Sullivan ag'tst the six nations seems by its effects rather to have exasperated, than to have terrified or disabled them. And the example of those nations, will add great weight to the exhortations addressed to the more Southern Tribes.

"Rivington has published a positive and particular account of the surrender of Charlestown on the 12 ult. said to be brought to N. York by the Iris which left Charlestown five days after. There are notwithstanding some circumstances attending it which added to the notorious character for lying of the author, leaves some hope that it is fictitious. The true state of the matter will probably be known at Richmond before this reaches you.

"We have yet heard nothing further of the Auxiliary Armament from France. However anxiously its arrival may be wished for it is much to be feared we shall continue to be so unprepared to co-operate with them, as to disappoint their views, and to add to our distress & disgrace, scarce a week, and sometimes scarce a day, but brings us a most lamentable picture from Head Quarters. The Army are a great part of their time on short allowance, at some times without any at all, and constantly depending on the precarious fruits of momentary expedients. General Washington has found it of the utmost difficulty to repress the mutinous spirit engendered by hunger and want of hay, and all his endeavours could not prevent an actual eruption of it in two Connecticut Reg'ts who assembled on the parade with their arms, and resolved to return home, or satisfy their hunger by the force of the Bayonet. We have no permanent resource, and scarce even a momentary one left, but in the prompt & vigorous supplies of the States. The State of Pennsylvania has it in her power to give great relief in the present crisis, and a recent act of its Legislature shows, they are determined to make the most of it. I understood they have invested their Executive with dictatorial authority from which nothing but the *lives* of their Citizens are exempted. I hope the good resulting from it, will be such as to compensate for the wish of the precedent."

—To Thomas Jefferson.

Philadelphia, June 6, 1780—

* * * "I flatter myself that the arrival of the French Armament which is hourly expected, place our affairs in a less melancholy situation than their apprehensions seem to paint them. There is little doubt but the conquest of the Southern States was the object of the operations of the present campaign, but I cannot think the Enemy will pursue that object at the manifest risk of N. York. It is more probable they will leave a strong Garrison in Charlestown and carry back to N. York the residue of their forces. If they should endeavor to extend their acquisitions in the Southern States, it must proceed from an assurance from England that a superior naval force will follow the french fleet to frustrate their views on the American coast. I cannot suppose that however intent they may have been on taking post at portsmouth, that they will venture in the present prospect to spread themselves out in so exposed a position."

Philadelphia, June 23, 1780—

* * * "The fact is confirmed that Clinton has returned to N. Y. with part of the Southern army, and has joined Knipphausen. They are at present manœuvring for purposes not absolutely known, but most probably in order to draw Gen'l Washington to an action in which they suppose he may be disabled to give the necessary co-operation to the french armament. Could they succeed in drawing him from his strong position, the result indeed ought to be exceedingly feared. He is weak in numbers beyond all suspicion, and under as great apprehension from famine as from the Enemy. Unless very speedy & extensive reinforcements are rec'd from the Eastern States which I believe are exerting themselves, the issue of the campaign must be equally disgraceful to our Councils & disgraceful to our allies. Our greatest hope of

"being

78—Continued.

being able [to] feed them are founded on a patriotic scheme of the opulent Merch'ts of this city, who have already subscribed nearly £3,000,000 and will very soon complete that sum. The immediate object of which is to procure and transport to the army, 3,000,000,000 of rations and 300 Hhds of rum, Congress for the support of this bank and for the security and indemnification of the Subscribers, have pledged the faith of the United States & agreed to deposit Bills of Exchange in Europe to the amount of £150,000 Sterling, which are not however to be made use of unless other means of discharging this debt should be inadequate."

Philadelphia, September 12, 1780—

* * * "Congress have at length entered seriously on a plan finally ratifying the confederation, convinced of the necessity of such a measure, to repress the hopes with which the probable issue of the Campaign will inspire our Enemy, as well as to give greater authority & vigor to our public councils. They have recommended in the most pressing terms to the States claiming unappropriated back lands, to cede a liberal portion of them for the general benefit. As their exclusive claims formed the only obstacle with Maryland, there is no doubt that a compliance with this recommendation will bring her into the confederation. How far the States holding the back lands may be disposed to give them up cannot be so easily determined. From the sentiments of the most intelligent persons which have come to my knowledge, I own I am pretty sanguine that they will see the necessity of closing the union in too strong a light, to oppose the only expedient that can accomplish it.

"Another circumstance that ought to encourage us under disappointed expectations from the Campaign is the combination of ye maritime powers in support of their neutral rights, and particularly the late insolent and provoking violation of those rights by the English Ships at St Martins. It is not probable that the injured will be satisfied without reparations & acknowledgments which the pride of Britain will not submit to, and if she can ever be embroiled in an altercation with so formidable a league, the result must necessarily be decisively in our favour. Indeed it is not to be supposed after the amazing resources which have been seen in G. Britain when not only deprived of, but opposed by her antient colonies, and ye success of the latter in resisting for so long a time the utmost exertion of these resources against her, that the Maritime powers who appear to be so jealous of their rights will ever suffer an event to take place which must very soon expose them to be trampled on at [the] pleasure of G. Britain."

September 19, 1780—

* * * "Yesterday was employed by Congress in discussing the resolutions you left with them. The first and second were passed after undergoing sundry alterations. The clause asked for allowing the expence of maintaining civil Gov'ts within the ceded territory was struck out by the committee, and an attempt to get it re-inserted in the house was negatived. It was surmised that so indefinite an expression might subject Congress to very exorbitant claims. With respect to Virg'a, I believe that expence has not been so considerable as to be much worth insisting on. The principal expences may properly be included under the military head. The consideration of the last resolution annulling Indian purchases, was postponed, with an intention I believe of not resuming it. It is supposed by some to be unnecessary, by others to be improper as implying that without such previous assurance, Congress would have a right to recognize private claims in a territory expressly given up to them for the common benefit. These motives prevailed, I am persuaded with more than the real view of gratifying private interest at the public expence. The States may annex what conditions they please to their cessions, and by that means guard them against misapplication, or if they only annul all pretended purchases by their own laws before the cessions are made, Congress are sufficiently precluded by thier general assurance that
"they

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they shall be applied to the common benefit from admitting any private claims which are opposed to it.

"The Vermont business has been two days under agitation, and nothing done in it except rejecting a proposition for postponing the determination of Congress till commissioners should enquire into the titles & boundaries of N. Hampshire & N. York. Congress have bound themselves so strongly by their own act to bring it to an issue at this time and are pressed by N. York so closely with this engagement, that it is not possible any longer to try evasive expedients. For my own part if a final decision must take place, I am clearly of opinion that it ought to be made on principles that will effectually discountenance the erection of new Governments without the sanction of proper authority, and in a style marking a due firmness and decision in Congress."

—*To Joseph Jones.*

Philadelphia, October—1780—

* * * "We continue to receive periodical alarms from the Commissary's & Quarter Master's departments. The season is now arrived when provision ought to be made for a season that will not admit of transportation, and when the monthly supplies must be subject to infinite disappointments even if the States were to do their duty. But instead of magazines being laid in, our army is living from hand to mouth, with a prospect of being soon in a condition still worse. How a total dissolution of it can be prevented in the course of the winter is for any resources now in prospect utterly inexplicable, unless the States unanimously make a vigorous & speedy effort to form magazines for the purpose. But unless the States take other methods to procure their winter supplies than have prevailed in most of them, their utmost efforts to comply with the requisitions of Congress can be only a temporary relief. This expedient as I take it was meant to prevent the emission of money. Our own experience as well as the examples of other Countries made it evident that we could not by taxes draw back to the treasury the emissions as fast as they were necessarily drawn out. We could not follow the example of other countries by borrowing, neither our own Citizens, nor foreigners being willing to lend as far as our wants extended. To continue to emit ad infinitum was thought more dangerous than an absolute exclusion of the press. Under these circumstances the expedient of specific requisitions was adopted for supplying the necessities of the War. But it is clear the success of this expedient depends on the mode of carrying it into execution. If instead of executing it by specific taxes, State emissions, or Commissary's & Q. Master's certificates which are a worse species of emissions, are resorted to, what was intended for our own relief will only hasten our destruction.

—*To Joseph Jones.*

Philadelphia, October 31, 1780—

* * * "Congress have felt a becoming resentment of the barbarous treatment of the Gentlemen in captivity at Charlestown, and have directed General Washington to require of Clinton an explanation of the matter. Nothing has yet been done in consequence of it except an application to Clinton, which as he had at that time not been officially informed of the facts, he evaded by general assurance of the humanity &c of Cornwallis. Gen Washington had very luckily between the application & the answer received two of the Earl's bloody proclamations which he very handsomely communicated to Sir Henry."

Philadelphia, November 7, 1780—

* * * "Doct'r Lee and Mr. Izzard particularly the latter have been here sometime, and I believe are not very reserved in their reflections on the venerable Philosopher at the Court of Versailles. Mr Izzard I understand is particularly open in his charges against him. Doct'r Lee on his arrival applied to Congress for a hearing on the subject of Mr. Deane's allegations; if

"any

78—Continued.

any doubt remains of the falsehood & malice of them, but nothing final has been done as yet in consequence of it. I have had great anxiety but the flame of faction which on a former occasion proved so injurious should be kindled anew, but as far as I can judge the temper of Congress in General by us means prone to it, although there may be individuals on both sides who would both wish & endeavour it." * * * "Congress has just finished an estimate of supplies for the ensuing year, requiring of the States the value of 6 Millions of D's in specie. The principal part of the requisition consists of specific articles, the residue of specie or the new emissions, receivable as specie. If the States fulfill this plan punctually there is no doubt that we shall go smoothly through another campaign, and if they would forbear recurring to State emissions & certificates in procuring the supplies, it may become a permanent & effectual mode of carrying on the war. But past experience will not permit our expectations to be very sanguine. The collection & transportation of specific supplies must necessarily be tedious & subject to casualties & the proceedings of 13 separate popular bodies, must add greatly to the uncertainty & delay. The expence attending the mode is of itself a sufficient objection to it, if money could by any possible devise be provided in due quantity. The want of this article is the source of all our public difficulties & misfortunes. One or two million of Guineas properly applied would diffuse vigor and satisfaction throughout the whole military department, and would expel the enemy from every part of the United States. It would also have another good effect. It would reconcile the army & every body else to our republican forms of Government. The principal inconveniences which are imputed to them being really the point of defective revenues. What other States effect by money, we are obliged to pursue by dilatory & undigested expedients, which benumb all our operations and expose our troops to numberless distresses. If these were well paid, well fed, and well clothed, they would be well satisfied and would fight with more success, and this might & would be as well effected by our Governments as by any other if they possessed money enough, as in our moneyless situation the same embarrassments would have been experienced by every Government."

—To Edmund Pendleton.

Philadelphia, November 14, 1780—

* * * "The letters from G. Washington & the Com' General for some time past give a most alarming picture of the state & prospects of the magazines. Applications to the contiguous States on the subject have been repeated from every quarter, till they seem to have lost all their force. Whether any degree of danger & necessity will rouse them to provide for the winter session now hastening upon us, I am unwilling to decide because my fears dictate the worst. The inroads of the Enemy on the frontier of N. York have been most fatal to us in this respect. They have almost totally ruined that fine wheat country which was able and from the energy of their Gov't most likely, to supply magazines of flour both for the main army & the N. W. posts. The Settlement of Schoarie which alone was able to furnish according to a letter from Gen'l Washington, 80,000 bushels of grain for public use, has been totally laid in ashes. Gen'l Washington in a letter to Congress of the 4th inst. mentions that another embarkation was on foot at N. York. In another of the 7th he says he had received no further intelligence on the subject, but had reason to think such a measure was still in contemplation. From the last letter it appears that by the late exchange ab't 140 Officers including Gen'ls Lincoln, Thomson, Waterbury & du Portail & Col Laurens are liberated, as also all our privates amounting to 476. The General had acceded to a further proposal of Clinton for exchanging almost the whole residue of our officers for convention officers without attaching any privates to them."

—To Joseph Jones.

78—Continued.

Philadelphia, November 25, 1780—

* * * "I hope you will not forget to call the attention of the Assembly as early as the preparations for defence will admit, to the means of ratifying the Confederation, nor to remind it of the conditions which prudence requires should be annexed to any territorial cession that may be agreed on. I do not believe there is any serious design in Congress to gratify the avidity of land mongers, but the best security for their virtue in this respect will be to keep it out of their power. They have been much infested since you left us with memorials from these people, who appear to be equally alarmed & perplexed. Mr. G. Morgan as agent for the Indiana claimants after memorializing Congress on the subject has honored the Virginia Delegates with a separate attention. He very modestly proposes to them a reference of the controversy between the Company & Virginia to arbitration in the mode pointed out in the Confederation for adjusting disputes between State & State. We have given him for answer that as the State we represent had finally determined the question, we could not with any propriety attend to his proposition, observing at the same time that if we were less precluded, we could not reconcile with the sovereignty & honor of the State an appeal from its own jurisdiction to a foreign tribunal in a controversy with private individuals."

—To Joseph Jones.

Philadelphia, November 25, 1780—

* * * "I informed you some time ago that the instructions to Mr. Jay had passed Congress in a form which was entirely to my mind. I since informed you that a Committee was preparing a letter to him explanatory of the principles & objects of the instructions. This letter also passed in a form equally satisfactory. I did not suppose that any thing further would be done on the subject, at least till further intelligence should arrive from Mr. Jay. It now appears that I was mistaken. The Delegates from Georgia & South Carolina, apprehensive that a *Uti possedetis* may be obviated on the belligerent powers by the armed neutrality in Europe and hoping that the accession of Spain to the Alliance will give greater concert & success to the military operations that may be pursued for the recovery of their States, and likewise add weight to the means that may be used for obviating a *Uti possedetis*, have moved for a reconsideration of the Instructions in order to empower Mr. Jay in case of necessity to yield to the claims of Spain on condition of her guaranteeing our independence & affording us a handsome subsidy. The expediency of such a motion is further urged from the dangerous negotiations now on foot by British Emissaries for detaching Spain from the war. Wednesday last was assigned for the consideration of the motion and it has continued the order of the day ever since, without being taken up. What the fate of it will be I do not predict, but whatever its own fate may [be] it must do mischief in its operation. It will not probably be conceded that such a motion has been made & supported, and the weight which our demands would derive from unanimity & decision must be lost. I flatter myself however that Congress will see the impropriety of sacrificing the acknowledged limits and claims of any State, without the express concurrence of such State. Obstacles enough will be thrown in the way of peace, if [it] is to be bid for at the expence of particular members of the Union. The Eastern States must on the first suggestion take the claim for their fisheries. If they will not support the other States in their rights, they cannot expect to be supported themselves when theirs come into question."

Philadelphia, November 28, 1780—

* * * "I am glad to find the legislature persist in their resolution to recruit their line of the Army for the war, though without deciding on the expediency of the mode under their consideration. Would it not be well to liberate and make soldiers at once of the blacks themselves as to make them instruments for enlisting white Soldiers? It w'd certainly be more consonant to the
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principles of liberty, which ought never to be lost sight of in a contest for liberty, and with white officers & a majority of white soldiers no imaginable danger could be feared from themselves, as there certainly could be none from the effect of the example on those who should remain in bondage, experience having shown that a freedman immediately loses all attachment & sympathy with his former fellow slaves." * * * "We have enclosed to the Gov'r a copy of the Act of the Legislature of Connecticut ceding some of their territorial claim to the United States, which he will no doubt communicate to the Assembly. They reserve the jurisdiction to themselves, and clog the cession with some other conditions which greatly depreciate it, and are the more extraordinary as their title to the land is so controvertible a one."

—*To Joseph Jones.*

Philadelphia. No date. [1780]—

* * * "Many attempts have been made to bring the Vermont dispute to an issue, but the diversity of opinions that prevail on one side & the dilatory artifices employ'd on the other have frustrated them. All the evidence has been heard and a proposition for including it within the jurisdiction of some one of the States debated for some time, but the decision was suspended. An arrangement of the Army framed on G. Washington's letters, has passed Congress and is now with the Gen'l for his observations on it. It includes a recommendation to the States to fill up their quotas. No arrangements of the civil departments have taken place. The new medical system has been passed. Shippen is again at the head of it, Craig & Cochran have not been forgotten. The instructions relating to the Mississippi have passed entirely to my satisfaction. A Committee is now preparing a state of the reasons & principles on which they stand." * * * "André was hung the 2d inst. He submitted to his fate in a manner that showed him to be worthy of a better one. His coadjutor Smith will soon follow him. The Hero of the plot, it is *said* is to be made a Brigadier and employed in some military expedition suited to his genius & his thirst for pelf. It is said with much probability that his baseness is heartily despised by those who have taken advantage of it, and some resentment is mixed with their contempt on account of the loss of their daring officer."

—*To Joseph Jones.*

Philadelphia, December 5, 1780—

* * * "I congratulate you on the deliverance of our Country from the distresses of actual invasion. If any unusual forbearance has been shown by the British Commanders, it has proceeded rather I presume from a possibility that they may some time or other in the course of the war repossess what they have now abandoned, than from a real disposition to Spare. The proceedings of the Enemy to the Southward prove that no general change of system has taken place in the military policy." * * * "We have in town at present several Gentlemen of distinction from the French army, among them the Chev. de Chastellux, the 2d in command, a man of some politeness & Letters. The Vicompt de Noailles, brother in law to the Marquis de Lafayette, and Baron de Montesquieu grand son to the great Montesquieu."

—*To Joseph Jones.*

Philadelphia, December 12, 1780—

* * * "I am sorry that either your own health or that of your lady should oblige you to leave the legislature before the principal business of the Session is finished. I shall be still more sorry if either of these causes should disappoint my hopes of your return to Philad'a at the promised time. I am the more anxious for your return because I suppose it will supercede the proposed measure of sending an envoy to Congress on the business you mention. If the facts are transmitted by the Assembly or the Executive, may they not be

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laid before Congress with as much efficacy by the established representation of the State as by especial Messenger? and will not the latter mode in some measure imply a distrust in the former one, and lower us in the eyes of Congress & the public? The application to the C^t of France has been anticipated. Congress have even gone so far as to appoint an Envoy Extraordinary to solicit the necessary aid. Col. Laurens was invested yesterday with that office. I leave the measure to your own reflection. How far it may be expedient to urge Spain to assist us before she is convinced of the reasonableness of our pretensions, ought to be well weighed before it be tried. The liberty we took in drawing on her money excited no small astonishment, and probably gave an idea of our distress, which confirmed her hopes of confusion on our part. Acc^{ts} rec^d since my last report her inflexibility with reg^d to the object [Mississippi] in question between us. It is indispensable that we should in some way or other know the *ultimate* sense of our Constituents on this important matter.

"Mr Laurens is certainly in captivity. An Irish paper tells us he was committed to the tower on the sixth of Oct'r under a warrant from the three Secretaries of State—Portugal has acceded to the neutral league so far as to exclude the English from the privileges her armed vessels have heretofore enjoyed in her ports. The Ariel with P. Jones & the cloathing &c on board was dismasted a day or two after she sailed & obliged to put back into port.—If G. Washington detaches his further aid to the Southw'd it will be owing to the reduction of his force by the expiration of enlistments. The Pennsylvania line is mostly engaged for the war and will soon form almost the whole of the army under his immediate command.

"Mr Sartine, it seems, has been lately removed from the administration of the naval department, in consequence of his disappointing the general hopes formed from the great means put into his hands. When it was mentioned to me by Mr M——s, I took occasion to ask whether the deception with regard to the 2d division ought to be ultimately charged upon him, observing to him, the use the Enemies of the alliance had made of that circumstance. From the explanation that was given, I believe the blame rests upon his head, and that his removal was the effect of it in a great measure, though it is possible he may like many others have been sacrificed to ideas of policy, and particularly in order to cancel the unfavorable impression which the disappointment left on America. A high character is given as might be expected of his successor the Marquis de Castor particularly with respect to those qualities in which Mr Sartine is charged with having been most deficient."

—To Joseph Jones.

Philadelphia, January 9, 1781—

* * * "On Thursday last Congress were informed by Gen'l Potter & Col Johnston who came Express for the purpose, that a general mutiny had broken out on the morning of New Year's day in the Pennsylvania line which was cantoned near Morris Town apart from the rest of the Army. Every effort was used by the Officers to stifle it in its infancy but without effect. Several of them fell victims to the fury of the mutineers. The next information came from Gen'l Wayne who wrote from Princeton whither the troops had marched in regular order on their way to Philad'a as they gave out with a determination not to lay down their arms nor return to their obedience till a redress of grievances should be obtained. They suffered none of their Officers to be among them except Gen'l Wayne & Col's Stewart & Butler and them they kept under close guard, but in every other respect treated with the utmost decorum. The grievances complained of were principally a detention of many in service beyond the Term of Enlistment & the sufferings of all from a deficient supply of cloathing & subsistence and the long arrearage of pay. Several propositions and replies on the subject of redress passed between a deputation of Sergeants in behalf of the Troops & Gen'l Wayne but without any certain tendency to a favorable issue. The affair at length began to take a very serious countenance, and as a great proportion of that line
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are foreigners and not a few deserters from the British Army, and as they showed a disposition to continue at Princeton from whence a refuge with the Enemy who it was said were coming out in force for the purpose, was at any moment practicable, it was thought necessary notwithstanding the humiliation of the step to depute a Committee of Congress with power to employ every expedient for putting a speedy end to the discontents. The President of the State with a number of Gentlemen from this place also went up to interpose their influence. By a letter from the Committee who had proceeded as far as Trenton rec'd the evening before last, it appears that the President who was a head & had written in to Gen'l Wayne, was likely to have a confidential reception. The Committee also wrote that an Emissary of Clinton who had appeared among the Soldiers with a paper setting forth the folly & danger of adhering to a cause which had already brought so much misery when the promising a protection under the British Gov't, a body of troops to cover their escape & payment of all arrears due from Congress, was seized & given up to Gen'l Wayne who handed him with his guide over to the President of this State, who placed them under the custody of his light horse. This circumstance not only presages a fortunate issue to the mutiny, but is such a proof of attachment to the Country in the most trying situation as must effectually repress the Joy & encouragement which the Enemy had taken from this threatening event."

—To Edmund Pendleton.

Philadelphia, January 16, 1781—

* * * "I was very glad at not being disappointed in my expectations of a favor from you by yesterday's post. Several reports in quick succession of the arrival & progress of the predatory band under Arnold had rendered us exceedingly anxious to hear the truth & particulars of the matter. Some letters by the post tell us that the Governor with Baron Steuben was wholly engaged in removing & securing the arms and ammunition. If so he was better employed than in writing to Congress on the subject, which from his usual punctuality was expected. The enterprise against Richmond at this season was certainly an audacious one and strongly marks the character which directed it. Having been long sensible that the security of the country as high up as tide water reaches has been owing more to the ignorance & caution of the enemy than to its own strength or inaccessibility, I was much less astonished at the news than many others. To those who are strangers to the sparse manner in which that country is settled & the easy penetration afforded by its long navigable rivers, the rapid and unopposed advances of the Enemy appear unaccountable & our national character suffers imputations which are by no means due to it.

"Congress have not yet received an official report of the result of the conciliating measures taken with the revolted Soldiers at Trenton. From oral & circumstantial evidence there is no doubt that they have been successful. A discharge of a part from the service & a supply of cloathing & money to the rest is the price of their submission. This much considered in itself was required by justice & is consequently consistent with dignity. But considered with respect to the circumstances attending the negotiation, there is but too much ground to suspect that it will be attributed to our fears, & is therefore not a little mortifying. Happily the example, as we understand by a letter from Gen'l Washington rec'd yesterday had not infected the other parts of the army. As the same causes however which engendered this malignant humour in the Pennsylvania line are known to exist in the other lines, we cannot be sure that the same effects will not yet take place in the latter, unless they be speedily remedied. As one step towards it Congress are endeavoring to profit of the alarm which this event must have excited in the States by calling upon them for the means of immediately furnishing some pay to the troops of their respective lines." * * * "The Emissary from Clinton with his guide were executed on Saturday morning last."

—To Edmund Pendleton.

78—Continued.

Philadelphia, April 3, 1781—

* * * “The letter from the Delegation by the last post informed you of the arrival of the Stores which were to have been delivered in Virginia by one of the French Ships. The infinite importance of them to the State, especially since the arrival of a reinforcement to Arnold of which we are just apprized by the Marquis, has determined the Delegates to forward them by land without loss of time. This will be attempted in the first instance in the channel of the Q. Master’s Department, and if it cannot be effected in that mode without delay, we propose to engage private Waggons for the purpose on the credit of the State. Should the latter alternative be embraced, I find it will be necessary to stipulate instantaneous payment from the Treasury on the arrival of the waggons at Richmond in specie or the *old Continental currency* to the *real* amount thereof. I mention this circumstance that you may be prepared for it. The expence of the transportation will be between five & six hundred pounds Virginia money. The exchange between specie & the old paper here at present is about 135 for 1.” * * * “The detachment under the Marquis is still at Annapolis. The orders of General Washington will govern their movements, whatever his intentions might have been at first. I flatter myself the embarkation from N York of which he must have been soonest *apprized* & which is now lodged in Chesapeake has determined him not to withdraw them from a service which is now more in need of them than ever.”

—To Thomas Jefferson.

Philadelphia, April 16, 1781—

* * * “The enclosed paper is a copy of a report from a committee now lying on the table of Congress for consideration. The delicacy and importance of the subject makes me wish for your judgment on it before it undergoes the final decision of Congress. * * *

“The necessity of arming Congress with co-ersive powers arises from the shameful deficiency of some of the States which are most capable of yielding their apportioned supplies, and the military exactions to which others already exhausted by the army and our own troops are in consequence exposed. Without such powers too in the general Government, the whole confederacy may be insulted and the most salutary measures frustrated by the most inconsiderable State in the Union. At a time when all the other States were submitting to the loss and inconveniency of an embargo on their exports, Delaware absolutely declined coming into the measure, and not only defeated the general object of it, but enriched herself at the expence of those who did their duty.”

NOTE.—*This letter is accompanied with an autograph copy of an additional article to the thirteen articles of the Constitution of the Confederation of the United States, by the enactment of which the States would be obliged to abide by the determination of the United States in Congress assembled. This is the paper referred to in the above letter.*

Philadelphia, May 1, 1781—

* * * “Congress have rec’d a good deal of Information from Europe within a few days past. I can only say in general that it is favourable. Indeed whatever consideration the powers of Europe may have for us, the audacious proceedings of our Enemy in all quarters must determine them to abridge a power which the greatest danger & distresses can not inspire with moderation or forbearance.”

Philadelphia, May 5, 1781—

* * * “In compliance with your request I have procured and now send you a copy of the Constitutions &c, published by order of Congress. I know not why the order in which they stand in the Resolution was varied by the committee in binding them up. The encomium on the inhabitants of Rhode Island was a flourish of a Delegate from [that] State who furnished the committee with the acc’t of its constitution, and was very inconsiderately suffered to be printed.”

—To Thomas Jefferson.

78--Continued.

Philadelphia, May 29, 1781—

* * * "The two circumstances relating to the proposed duty on trade mentioned in your favor of the 1st instant were subjects of discussion when the measure was on the Anvil. It was evident that the disposition of the States to invest Congress with such a power would be influenced by the length of the time assigned for the exercise of it. It was equally evident that no provision would satisfy the present creditors of the U. States or obtain future loans that was not commensurate to all the public engagements. In order to reconcile these points the duration of the import was limited, but limited in so indefinite a manner as not to defeat the object of it. Should the increase of trade render the duty more productive than was estimated it must the sooner extinguish the public debts & cease. The application of Congress for such a power supposes indeed a confidence in them on the part of the States, greater perhaps than many may think consistent with republican jealousy, but if the States will not enable their representatives to fulfill their engagements, it is not to be expected that individuals either in Europe & America will confide in them."

—To Edmund Pendleton.

Philadelphia, August 4, 1781—

* * * "We were exceedingly disappointed & chagrined to find the movements of the Enemy which had so much occupied the public conjectures, terminate in a relanding in Virginia, which has surely had an ample share of their visitations. This event is the more to be lamented, as it seems to indicate either that the combined operations ag't N. Y. are viewed without apprehensions by the Enemy, or that some unexpected succour is on its way to them. The latter is given out at N. York, and even the former is rendered but too probable by the languor with which the States supply the Commander in Chief with the necessary means of success." * * * "The Controversy relating to the district called Vermont, the inhabitants of which have for several years claimed & exercised the jurisdiction of an Independent State is at length put into a train of speedy decision. Notwithstanding the objection to such an event, there is no question but they will soon be established into a separate & federal State. A relinquishment made by Massachusetts of her claims; a despair of finally obtaining theirs on the part of N. Y. & N. H.; the other claimants, on whom these entertaining adventurers were making fresh encroachments; the latest support afforded them by the leading people of the N. E. States in general from which they emigrated; the just ground of apprehension that their rulers were engaging in clandestine negotiations with the enemy, & lastly perhaps the jealous policy of some of the little States which hope that such a precedent may engender a decision of some of ye larger ones, are the circumstances which will determine the concurrence of Congress in this affair."

—To Edmund Pendleton.

Philadelphia, September 3, 1781—

* * * "I am favored with yours of the 27th ultimo. This letter will be the most agreeable of any I have long had the pleasure of writing. I begin with informing you that the Commander in Chief and the C't Rochambeau, the former with part of the American Army, and the latter with the whole of the French are thus far on their way for the Southern Department. The American troops passed through the Town yesterday. The first division of the French to-day. The 2d will pass to-morrow. Nothing can exceed the appearance of this specimen which our ally has sent us of his army, whether we regard the figure of the men or the exactness of their discipline.

"Yesterday also arrived from his Special mission to the Court of France Col John Laurens. Although his success has not been fully commensurate to

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our wishes, he has brought with him very *substantial* proofs of the determination of that Court to support us. Besides a considerable quantity of clothing & other valuable articles, there are upwards of 16,000 Stand of Arms. It is rather unlucky that they found it expedient to put into Boston instead of this place from whence the distribution of them would have been so much more easy."

—*To Edmund Pendleton.*

Philadelphia, October 30, 1781—

* * * "I return you my fervent congratulations on the glorious success of the combined arms at York & Gloucester. We have had from the Commander in Chief an official report of the fact with a copy of the capitulation, and a general intimation that the n^o of prisoners excluding seamen &c would exceed 5000; but no detail of our gains. If these severe doses of ill fortune do not cool the frenzy and relax the pride of Britain, it would seem as if Heaven had in reality abandoned her to her folly & her fate. This campaign was grounded on the most intense exertion of her pecuniary resources. Upwards of 20 millions were voted by the Parliament. The King acknowledged that it was all he asked, and all that was necessary. A fair trial has then been made of her strength, and what is the result? They have lost another Army, another Colony, another island, and another fleet of her trade. Their possessions in the E. Indies which were so rich a source of their commerce & credit have been severed from them perhaps for ever, their naval armaments, the bulwarks of their safety & the idols of their vanity have in every contest felt the rising superiority of their Enemies. In no points have they succeeded except in the predatory conquest of Eustatia of which they have lost the greatest part of every thing except the infamy, and in the relief of Gibraltar which was merely a negative advantage. With what hope or with what view, can they try the fortune of another campaign? Unless [they] can draw succour from the compassion or jealousy of other powers of which it does not yet appear that they have any well founded expectation, it seems scarcely possible for them much longer to shut their ears against the voice of peace."

—*To Edmund Pendleton.*

Philadelphia, November 13, 1781—

* * * "Will not the Assembly pay some handsome compliments to the Marquis for his judicious & zealous services whilst the protection of the Country was entrusted to him? His having baffled and finally reduced to the defensive so powerful an army as we now know he had to contend with, and with so disproportionate a force, would have done honor to the most veteran officer and, added to his other merits and services, constitute a claim on their gratitude which I hope will not be unattended to." * * * "A series of intercepted letters from Mr Deane to his correspondents in America have been lately published in New York. The object of all of them, with degrees of varying from cautious insinuation to direct advice, is to bring America back to a dependence on Britain, modified according to the terms proposed by the Commissioners in 1778. The genuineness of some of these letters is upon good grounds questioncd, but most of them contain marks of authority which clearly denounce him to be an apostate, and consign his character to the same infamy with that of his friend Arnold. This sentence is delivered here against him with the less hesitation, because a prior & indubitable evidence of his degeneracy had been received through another channel. Whether this defection has proceeded from a mercenary contract with the enemy, from a view of obtaining such an one, or from a chagrin at the obstacle which his country has by a total prohibition of intercourse with the enemy opposed to the commercial projects he went to Europe to execute is as yet matter of speculation."

—*To Edmund Pendleton.*

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Philadelphia, November 18, 1781—

In speaking of the doings of Congress in regards to the Territorial cessions, he says: * * * "Although the cession of Virginia will probably be rejected on the whole, I do not think it probable that all the principles & positions contained in the report of the committee will be ratified. The committee was composed of a member from Maryland, Pennsylvania, N. Jersey, Rhode Island, & N. Hampshire all of which States except the latter are systematically & notoriously adverse to the claims of Western Territory & particularly those of Virginia. The opinion of the committee is therefore no just index of the opinion of Congress, and as it is a rule observed since the confederation was completed, that seven votes, are requisite in every question, & there are seldom more than 7, 8, 9, or 10 States present, even the opinion of a majority of Congress is a very different thing from a constitutional vote. I mention the particulars that you may be the better able to counteract any intemperate measures that may be used in the legislature. I do not hesitate to declare my opinion that the State will not only find in the communications we have made to them ample justification for revoking or at least suspending their act of cession, and remonstrating against any interference with respect to cases within their jurisdiction, but that they ought in all their provisions for their future security, importance & interest to presume that the present Union will but little survive the present war. I am equally sensible nevertheless of the necessity of great temper & moderation with respect to the first point, and in the last, that they ought to be as fully impressed with the necessity of the Union during the war as of its probable dissolution after it."

—To Thomas Jefferson.

Philadelphia, January 8, 1782—

* * * "Yesterday was opened for the first time the bank instituted under the auspices of Congress. Its principal founder is Mr. R. M. who has certain prerogatives with respect to it in his quality of superintendent of finance. It is pretty analogous in its principles to the bank of England. The Stock subscribed is 400,000 dollars. When the scheme was originally proposed to Congress for their approbation & patronage, a promise was given that as soon as it was ripe for operation the company should be incorporated, a few days ago the fulfilment of the promise was claimed. The competency of Congress to such an act had been called in question in the first instance, but the subject not lying in so near & distinct a view, the objections did not prevail, on the last occasion. The general opinion though with some exceptions was that the Confederation gave no such power and that the exercise of it would not bear the test of a forensic disquisition & consequently would not avail the institution. The bank however supposing that such a sanction from Congress w'd at least give it a dignity & preeminence in the public opinion, urged the engagement of Congress. That on this engagement the subscriptions had been made & that a disappointment would leave the subscribers free to withdraw their names. These considerations were reinforced by the Superintendent of finance, who relied on this institution as a great auxiliary to his department, and in particular expected aid from it in a payment he is exerting himself to make to the Army." * * * "A Charter of incorporation was granted with a recommendation to the States to give it all the necessary validity within their respective jurisdictions."

—To Edmund Pendleton.

Philadelphia, January 22, 1782—

* * * "Congress are much occupied & perplexed at present with the case of Vermont. The pretensions of that settlement to the character of an independent State, with the grounds on which they are made, & the countenance given them by Congress are I presume pretty well known to you. It has long been contended that an implicit acknowledgment of that character and

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the admission of them into the federal Union was an act both of Justice & policy. The discovery made through several channels & particularly by the intercepted letters of L'd Germaine added much force to the latter of these considerations, that in the course of last summer preliminary overtures were made on the part of Congress for taking them into the confederation, containing as one condition on the part of Vermont that they should contract their claims within the bounds to which they were originally confined, & guaranteeing to N. Y. & N. H. all the Territory without those bounds to which their encroachments had been extended. Instead of complying with this condition they have gone on in their encroachments both on the N. Y. & N. H. sides & there is at this moment every symptom of approaching hostility with each of them. In this delicate crisis the interposition of Congress is again called for & indeed seems to be indispensable, but whether in the way of military coercion, for a renewal of former overtures, or by making the first a rendition of a refusal of the last, is not so unanimously decided. Indeed with several members & I may say States in Congress a want of power either to decide on their independence or to open the door of the confederacy to them is utterly disclaimed, besides which the danger of the precedent & the preponderancy it w'd give to the Eastern scale deserve serious consideration. These reasons nevertheless can only prevail when the alternative contains fewer evils. It is very unhappy that such plausible pretexts if not necessary occasions of assuming power should occur. Nothing is more distressing to those who have a due respect for the constitutional modifications of power than to be obliged to decide upon them."

Philadelphia, March 19, 1782—

* * * "The ministerial speeches with other circumstances, place it beyond a doubt that the plan for recovering America will be changed. A separate peace with the Dutch, a suspension of the offensive war here, an exertion of their resources thus disencumbered against the naval power of France & Spain and a renewal of the arts of seduction & division in the U. States will probably constitute the outlines of the new plan. Whether they will succeed in the first article of it cannot be ascertained by the last intelligence we have from Holland. It is only certain that negotiations are on foot under the auspices of the Empress of Russia."

—*To Edmund Pendleton.*

Philadelphia, April 2, 1782—

* * * "The thinness or rather vacancy of the Virginia line & the little prospect of recruiting it are subjects of a very distressing nature. If those on whom the remedy depends were sensible of the insulting comparisons to which they expose the State, & of the wound they give to her influence in the General Councils, I am persuaded more decisive exertions would be made, considering the extensive interests and claims which Virginia has, & the enemies & calumnies which these very claims form against her. She is perhaps under the strongest obligation of any State in the Union to preserve her military contingent on a respectable footing, and unhappily her line is perhaps of all in the most disgraceful condition. The only hope that remains is that her true policy will be better consulted at the Ensuing Assembly, & that as far as a proper sense of it may be deficient, the expostulations of her friends and clamours of her enemies will supply the place of it."

Philadelphia, April 16, 1782—

* * * "I entreat that you will not suffer the chance of a speedy and final determination of the territorial question by Congress to effect your purpose of tracing the title of Virg'a to her claim. It is in the first place very uncertain when a determination will take place, even if it takes place at all, & in the next it will assuredly not be a final one, unless Virg'a means to be passive & silent under aggression on her rights. In every event therefore it is proper to be armed with every argument & document that can vindicate her title. Her

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adversaries will be either the U. States, or N. Y., or both. The former will either claim on the principle that the vacant country is not included in any particular State & consequently falls to the whole, or will cloath themselves with the title of the latter by accepting its cession. In both cases it will be alleged that the Charter of 1609 was annulled by the resumption of it into the hands of the crown, and that the subsequent grants to Maryland &c denote this to have been the construction of it. That the Proclamation of 1763 has constituted the Alleghany Ridge the Western limit of Virg'a & that the letter of Presid't Nelson on the subject of a New Colony on the Ohio, relinquishes on the part of Virg'a all interference with the authority of the crown beyond that limit. In case the title of N. Y. should alone be opposed to that of Virginia it will be further alleged ag'st the latter that the treaties of 1684, 1701, 1726, 1744 & 1754 between the Gov't of the former & the 6 nations have annexed to it all the country claimed by those nations & their tributaries, and that the expence of N. York in defending & protecting them ought in equity to be remembered by this exclusive advantage. The original title of N. Y. is indeed drawn from the Charter of the Duke of York in 1663-4, renewed after the treaty of Westminster in 1674. But this charter will not I believe reach any territory claimed by Virginia."

—*To Thomas Jefferson.*

OBSERVATIONS RELATING TO THE INFLUENCE OF VERMONT, AND THE TERRITORIAL CLAIMS ON THE POLITICS OF CONGRESS.

May 5, 1782—

* * * "The two great objects which predominate in the politics of Congress at this juncture are I, Vermont, II, Western Territory.

"I. The independence of Vermont and its admission into the Confederacy are patronized by the Eastern States (N. Hampshire excepted), 1, from ancient prejudice ag'st N. York; 2, the interest which citizens of those States have in lands granted by Vermont; 3, but principally from the accession of weight they will derive from it in Congress. N. Hampshire having gained its main object by the exclusion of its territory East of Connecticut River from the claims of Vermont, is already indifferent to its independence, and will probably soon combine with other Eastern States in its favor.

"The same patronage is yielded to the pretensions of Vermont by Pennsylvania & Maryland with the sole view of reinforcing the opposition to claims of Western territory, particularly those of Virginia, and by N. Jersey & Delaware with the additional view of strengthening the interest of the little States. Both of these considerations operate also on Rhode Island in addition to those above mentioned.

"The independence of Vermont and its admission into the Union are opposed by N. York for reasons obvious and well known.

"The like opposition is made by Virginia, N. Carolina, S. Carolina and Georgia. The grounds of this opposition are: 1, an habitual jealousy of a predominance of Eastern Interests; 2, the opposition expected from Vermont to Western claims; 3, the inexpediency of admitting so unimportant a State to an equal vote in deciding on peace & all the other grand interests of the Union now depending; 4, the influence of the example on a premature dismemberment of other States. These considerations influenced the four States last mentioned in different degrees. The 2 & 3, to say nothing of the 4, ought to be decisive with Virginia.

"II. The territorial claims, particularly those of Virginia, are opposed by Rhode Island, N. Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware & Maryland. Rhode Island is influenced in her opposition by a lucrative desire of sharing in the vacant territory as a fund of revenue; 2, by the envy & jealousy naturally excited by superior resources & importance. N. J., Penn'a, Delaware, Maryland, are influenced partly by the same considerations; but principally by

"the

78—Continued.

the intrigues of their citizens who are interested in the claims of land companies. The decisive influence of the last consideration is manifest from the peculiar, and persevering opposition made ag't Virginia within whose limits these claims lye.

"The Western claims, or rather a final settlement of them, are also thwarted by Massachusetts and Connecticut. This object with them is chiefly subservient to that of Vermont, as the latter is with Pennsylvania & Maryland to the former. The general policy and interests of these two States are opposed to the admission of Vermont into the Union, and if the case of the Western territory were once removed, they would instantly divide from the Eastern States in the case of Vermont. Of this Massachusetts & Connecticut are not insensible, and therefore find their advantage in keeping the territorial controversy pending. Connecticut may likewise conceive some analogy between her claim to the Western country & that of Virginia, and that the acceptance of the cession of the latter, would influence her sentiments in the controversy between the former & Pennsylvania.

"The Western claims are espoused by Virg'a, N. & S. Carolina, Georgia & N. York, all of these States being interested therein. S. Carolina is the least so. The claim of N. York is very extensive, but her title very flimsy. She urges it more with the hope of obtaining some advantage, or credit, by its cession, than of ever maintaining it. If this cession should be accepted, and the affair of Vermont terminated, as these are the only ties which unite her with the Southern States, she will immediately connect her policy with that of the Eastern States, as far at least as the remains of the former prejudice will admit."

Philadelphia, May 29, 1782—

* * * "I wrote to you yesterday morning by the post fully & in cypher. As I am told however the Bearer will probably be in Richmond before the Post, it may not be amiss to repeat to you that we have heard nothing from Carlton since our refusal of the passport to his Sec'y, and that we have authentic information from Europe that insidious attempts have been made both on Dr Franklin & Mr Adams, by British Emissaries, as well as tempting overtures employed to divide our Ally from us. These machinations have served no other end than to expose the measures & impotence of our Enemy, and to supply fresh proofs of the indissoluable nature of the alliance. Mr Adams begins to advance with considerable speed towards the object of his mission in Holland."

—*To Edmund Randolph.*

June 6, 1782—

* * * "Great as my partiality is to Mr Jefferson, the mode in which he seems determined to revenge the wrong received from his country, does not appear to me to be dictated either by philosophy or patriotism. It argues indeed a keen sensibility and a strong consciousness of rectitude. But this sensibility ought to be as great towards the relentions as the misdoings of the Legislature, not to mention the injustice of visiting the faults of the body on their innocent constituents." * * * "Sir G. Carlton still remains silent. The Resolutions which the Legislatures of the States are passing may perhaps induce him to spare British pride the mortification of supplicating in vain the forgiveness of Rebels."

—*To Edmund Randolph.*

Philadelphia, June 18, 1782—

* * * "The trade with N. York begins to excite general indignation and threatens a loss of all our hard money. The continued drains which it makes from the bank must at least contract its utility, if it produces no greater mischief to it. The Legislature of N. Jersey are devising a new remedy for this disgraceful & destructive traffic, and a committee of Congress are also employed in the same work. I have little expectation that any adequate cure can be applied, whilst our foreign trade is annihilated & the Enemy in New York make it an object to keep open this illicit channel."

78—Continued.

Philadelphia, July 16, 1782—

* * * “A despatch from the commander in chief came unsealed to Congress yesterday. A late correspondence between him & Gen'l Clinton principally on the subject of two traitors who under the cover of a flag have exposed themselves to arrest in New Jersey, and had sentence of death passed upon them. Gen'l Clinton among other observations on the subject, says that in a civil war between people of one empire, there can during the contest, be no treason at all and asks a passport for Gen'l Robinson & Mr Ludlow to confer with Gen W, or persons appointed by him & to settle arrangements on this idea. Gen W declines the conference observing that the proposed subject of it is within the civil resort, whereupon Gen'l Carlton asks, ‘Am I to apply to Congress to admit persons to conferences at Philadelphia?’ Can any deputation be sent by Congress to your camp to meet persons appointed by me? or will you Sir undertake to manage our common interest?’ The drift of all this need not be pointed out to you. As a counterpart to it, the British Gen'l purposes in order to remove all objections to an exchange of Soldiers for seamen, that the latter shall be perfectly free, and the former subject to the condition of not serving against the 13 Provinces for one year, within which period he is very sanguine that an end will be put to the calamities of the present war.”

Philadelphia, July 23, 1782—

* * * “The Language & measures of the present administration will furnish you with copious matter for reflection. If we had rec'd fewer lessons of caution ag't sanguine expectations, I should with confidence explain them by a scheme for a general pacification, and for farthering on their predecessors all the obnoxious conditions which the public distresses may expose them to. If this solution were a just one, it ought at the same time to be remembered that the triumph of Rodney may give a new turn to their politics.” * * * “General Washington is still here. I have nothing to add to my last on the subject of Lippincott & Asgil.”

—To Edmund Randolph.

Philadelphia, July 30, 1782—

* * * “A captain of an American Vessel is just come up with an account of the arrival of a French fleet off the capes of Chesapeak, with a body of Troops on board. Many persons are so sanguine as to expect that this armament is destined ag't New York, and that it will immediately possess itself of the Harbour of that place, before the arrival of a superior enemy can prevent it. Altho' the troops on board seem to favor such a conjecture, there are improbabilities which with me outweigh that circumstance.”

—To Edmund Randolph.

Philadelphia, August 5, 1782—

* * * “A letter of the 14th of May has come to hand from Mr Jay in which he says that he is called to Paris by Doctor Franklin. This call can only be in his capacity of minister for peace, and in consequence of a prospect if not commencement of negotiations. He says nothing on the subject himself, but refers to intelligence which he takes for granted would previously arrive from Paris. He congratulates Mr Livingston on the acknowledgment of our independence by the United Provinces. This is the first official evidence of that event.” * * * “Mr Montgomery has given notice to Congress of his intention to call for the report on the case of Vermont & to lay before them such information as he has acquired.”

NOTE.—Most of this letter is in Lovell's cypher.

78—Continued.

August 9, 1782—

“Extract of a letter from Carlton and Digby to General Washington, August 2d.

* * * “We are acquainted sir by authority that negotiations for a general peace have already commenced at Paris, & that Mr Grenville is invested with full powers to treat with all parties at War, & is now at Paris in execution of his commission. And we are likewise Sir further made acquainted, that his Majesty in order to remove all obstacles to that peace which he so ardently wishes to restore, has commanded his Ministers to direct Mr Grenville, that the Independency of the thirteen Provinces should be proposed by him in the first instance, instead of making it a condition of a General Treaty, however not without the highest confidence that the Loyalists shall be restored to their possessions, or a full compensation made them for whatever confiscations may have taken place.’” * * * “This is followed by information that transports are preparing to convey all American prisoners in England to the U. S., and a proposition for a general exchange, in which Seamen are to be placed ag’t Seamen as far as they will go, & the balance in fav’r of G. B., to be redeemed by land prisoners, the former to be free, the latter not to serve in war ag’t the 13 Provinces for one year. An embarkation is taking place at N. Y. either for Charleston, either to reinforce that Garrison or replace it.” * * * “The preceding letter was published in N. York at the same time that it was sent to Gen’l Washington. I commit this intelligence to your discretion, making no other remark than that it clearly calls for our watchfulness at the same time that it flatters our expectations.”

—To Edmund Randolph.

Philadelphia, August 13, 1782—

* * * “I transmitted to you a few days ago by express the Contents of a letter from Gen’l Carlton & Admiral Digby to Gen’l Washington, announcing the purpose of the British court to acknowledge the Independence of the 13 Provinces. Our expected advices on this head from Europe are not yet arrived. A Mr Blake an opulent Citizen of S^c Carolina who came from G. B. under a passport from Mr Laurens to New York & thence hither assures us that the Administration are serious with respect to peace, & the independence of this country; that the point however was carried in the Cabinet by a majority of two voices and that their finances are so disordered that a continuance of the war is in a manner impracticable; that the Militia at New York have been thanked for their past services & told explicitly that they would not be wanted in future; that the evacuation of the U. S. will certainly take place this fall & that a large n^o. of transports are coming from England to remove the B. Garrisons, probably to the W. Indies; that these transports will contain about 2500 Germans who it is supposed in case of such an evacuation will have the same destination; that Carlton told him & desired him to mention it at large that he was a real friend to America, and wished her to be powerful, rich, united & happy, and secure ag’t *all* her Enemies. That he also intimated in the course of conversation that Canada would probably be given up as a 14th member of the confederacy. You will draw such conclusions from these particulars as you think fit. The Gentlemen of S^c. Carolina vouch for the veracity of Mr Blake. It appears to me much more clear that the Ministry really mean to subscribe to our independence, than that they have renounced the hope of seducing us from the French connection.

“The motion for revoking the power given to France has been made again and pushed with the expected earnestness but was parried and will issue I believe in an adoption of your report, with a representation thereupon to the Court of France.” [A portion of this letter is in cypher].

—To Edmund Randolph.

78—Continued.

Philadelphia, August 27, 1782—

* * * "Congress rec'd yesterday a letter from Gen'l Washington enclosing one to him from Clinton with the proceedings of the C't Martial in the case of Lippincott. It appears that this culprit did not deny the fact charged upon him but undertook to justify it as necessary retaliation, and as warranted by *verbal* orders from the Board of Refugees. The C't decided this warrant to be insufficient, but acquitted him on the pretext that no *malicious* intention appeared. Carlton explicitly acknowledges & reprobates the crime, & promises to pursue it in other modes, complaining at the same time of irregularity in the step taken by Gen'l W. of selecting & devoting to execution an innocent & even a capitulant officer, before satisfaction had been formally demanded & *referred*. Gen'l W. seems to lean to the side of compassion but asks the direction of Congress. What that will be may perhaps be communicated in my next."

—To Edmund Randolph.

Philadelphia, September 3, 1782—

* * * "Another petition from Kentucky has been received by Congress, contending for the right of Congress to create new States and praying for an exertion of it in their behalf. A copy will be sent to the Governor by the delegates. Mr Lee moved that the original should be referred to him by Congress. The debate which ensued was terminated by an adjournment and has not been revived.

"General Washington writes to Congress that Carlton had concurred in the proposition for a general Cartel so far as to appoint a Commiss'r for that purpose. There is little probability however that he has authority to settle such a cartel on the principles which Congress had in view, namely those of a national convention. It was thought by some that this would put to the test their sincerity of their profession on the subject of independence.

"I believe I did not acquaint you on a former occasion that the prisoners who have lately returned from captivity in England were discharged in consequence of an agreement by Franklin that a like number of the army of Cornwallis should be given for them. This bold step at first gave much offence. Compassion however for the patriotic captives stifled reproaches. They will probably come out yet unless subsequent events discountenance them.

"There are it seems three letters in the Post office from Carlton to the Governor, which do not appear to have been licensed, nor is it known how they got into that channel. The curiosity of people on this point is inconceivable." * * * "The French army has been passing through this place for several days Northward. The last division will pass tomorrow or the day after. The praises bestowed on their discipline & sobriety in Virginia, are repeated here with equal cordiality & justice."

Philadelphia, September 10, 1782—

* * * "The loss of the French 74 in Boston Harbour (struck on a rock) prevented an occasion which was embraced by Congress, of making a small requital to their ally for his benevolent exertions in behalf of the U. S. They have directed the agent of marine to replace the loss by presenting in the name of the U. S. the Ship America to the Chev'r de la Luzerne for the service of his M. C. M. The States were unanimous in this vote. The dissenting members were Bland & Jones of Georgia." * * * "Gen'l Washington had moved with his principal force down to Verplanks point. His object if he has any material one, is not yet disclosed." * * * "We are still left by our Ministers in the most painful suspense with regards to events in Europe."

—To Edmund Randolph.

78—Continued.

September, 11—

* * * "The Gentleman by whom I wrote this morning having waited till I had the opportunity of knowing the contents of the dispatches from Holland, I take advantage of it to add that we are disappointed by their silence with regard to peace. Those from Mr Adams relate chiefly to his transaction with the States General. A letter from Mr Laurens of the 30th of May informs us he is returning to [the] U. S. having declined the service of Minister for peace. He appears to have been very unhandsomely dealt with by Mr. A. with respect to his commission for Holland, which will no doubt be the foundation of mutual enmity." * * * "Mr Berkeley writes on the 13th of July that the mail from England subsequent to the resignation of Fox, Burke, &c, breathes war."

—*To Edmund Randolph.*

Philadelphia, September,—1782—

* * * "My letter by a private hand subsequent to the last post have anticipated the chief intelligence from Holland which I had allotted for the post of this week. I have however one important article which at that date lay under an injunction of secrecy which has been since taken off. Mr Adams we are informed has contracted with a mercantile House in Holland for the negotiation of a loan of 5 million of Guilders, or about 10 million of livres, for which he is to give 5 per c't interest, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per c't for commission & other donceurs & charges, which will raise the interest to about 6 per c't. The Principal is to be discharged in five annual payments commencing with the 10th year from the date of the loan." * * * "The contractors however made it a condition that none of the money should be paid to the U. S. until the contract should be ratified by Congress. This ratification passed on Saturday." * * * "On Friday two large French frigates bringing money &c for the French army & despatches for Congress & the F minister came into Delaware Bay. For want of Pilots in time they got entangled among the bars which perplex the navigation of this bay. The appearance & bearing of the British fleet after pilots were obtained rendered it impossible for them to return into the proper channel. The only expedient that remained was to push forward & attempt under the advantage of high water to force a passage through the shoal which obstructed them. In this attempt one of them succeeded, the other struck in the sand, and was lost. All the public stores, particularly the money on board have however, been fortunately saved."

Philadelphia, September 24, 1782—

* * * "Our ally has added another important link to the chain of benefits by which this country is bound to France. He has remitted to us all the interest which he has paid for us, or was due to him on loans to us, together with all the charges attending the Holland loan, and has moreover postponed the demand of the principal till one year after the war, and agreed to receive it then in twelve successive annual payments. These concessions amount to a very considerable reduction of the liquidated debt." * * * "My last informed you that Mr Laurens had declined serving in the commission for peace. His proceedings during his captivity as stated by himself, are far from unexceptionable. Congress nevertheless were prevailed on to assent to a resolution informing him that his service could not be dispensed with. A few days after this resolution had passed, several numbers of the Parliamentary Register were received at the office of Foreign Affairs, in one of which was published the inclosed petition. The petition was introduced by Mr. Burke, was a subject of some debate and finally ordered to lie on the table. The extreme impropriety of a representative of the U. S. addressing that very authority against which they had made war, with the pusillanimous and almost penitential language of the address, determined Mr Jones and myself to move that the resolution above referred to should not be transmitted until further order of Congress. In support of the motion it was observed that

"however

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however venial the fault might be in a private view, it evidently rendered Mr Laurens no longer a fit depository for the public dignity and rights, which he had so far degraded, and that if Congress should reinstate him against his own desire and with this fact before their eyes, it would seem as if they meant to ratify instead of disowning the degradation. The motion was opposed on the grounds first that the character of Mr Laurens and the silence of his letter over balanced the testimony of the register and rendered the fact incredible ; 2dly that the fact, altho' faulty, ought to have no influence on the public arrangement. The first object was the prevailing one. The second was abetted by but few ; several professed a readiness to renounce their friend in case the authenticity of the paper should be verified. On the question there were five noes, three ayes, two divided, two half votes aye. The petition had been published some time ago at New York & had made some noise in New Jersey but was ultimately regarded as spurious. There are so many circumstances relating to this gentleman during his captivity which speak a bias towards the British Nation & an undue cordiality with its new leaders that I dread his participation in the work of peace." * * * "As some of Mr L's friends strenuously maintain that the Petition inclosed is spurious, I would not wish it to be made public through me, until the matter be ascertained, or he be present to explain it."

THE PETITION OF HENRY LAURENS, IN THE HANDWRITING
OF JAMES MADISON.

"To the Right Honourable Charles Wolfran Cornwall, Speaker, and the Honourable the House of Commons.

"The Representation & Prayer of Henry Laurens, a native of South Carolina, some time recognized by the British Commissioners in America, by the style and title of his Excellency Henry Laurens, President of Congress, now a close prisoner in the Tower of London,

"Most respectfully sheweth,

"That your representor for many years, at the peril of his life & fortune, evidently laboured to preserve & strengthen the antient friendship between G. B. and the Colonies ; and that in no instance he ever excited, on either side the dissensions which separated them ;

"That the commencement of the present war was a subject of great grief to him, inasmuch as he foresaw & foretold, in letters now extant, the distresses which both countries experienced at this day ;

"That in the rise & progress of the war, he extended every act of kindness in his power to persons called Loyalists and Quietists, as well as to British Prisoners of war ; very ample proofs of which he can produce ;

"That he was captured on the American coast, first landed upon American ground, where he saw exchange of British & American Prisoners in a course of negotiation ; and that such exchange & enlargements upon parole are mutually and daily practiced in America ;

"That he was committed to the Tower of London on the 6th of October 1780, being dangerously ill, that in the meantime he has, in many respects, particularly by being deprived (with very little exception) of the visits and consolations of his children, and other relations & friends, suffered under a degree of rigour, almost, if not altogether, unexampled in modern British History ;

"That from long confinement, and the want of proper exercise & other obvious causes, his bodily health is greatly impaired, and that he is now in a languishing state, and,

"Therefore, your Representor humbly prays your Honour will condescend to take his case into consideration, and under proper conditions and restrictions, grant him enlargement, or such other relief, as to the wisdom and benignity of your House shall seem fitting.

"HENRY LAURENS.

"Tower of London, December 1, 1781."

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EXTRACT OF A SPEECH OF EDMUND BURKE, ALSO IN THE HANDWRITING OF JAMES MADISON.

"Extract from the speech of Mr. Burke on the 17th of December 1781, on his intended motion for a bill to exchange American Prisoners—

* * * "But was the treatment of Mr. L., in the Tower consonant to sound policy? Was it prudent to sour the minds of the Americans ag't England by the ill usage of their great & respectable President; was it politic to make him think ill of England? Ill usage might do it, but nothing else could; for he carried his love for this country even to doting; he had sent his children to receive their education in it, & to learn to love this country, he had long opposed the disunion of B. & A.; and if anything set him ill with his countrymen, it was the opinions they entertained that he was too well effected to the interests of England."

—*To Edmund Randolph.*

Philadelphia, October 8, 1782—

* * * "We hear not a word further from N. York. At the meeting of the Com'rs for settling a cartel; a remonstrance was presented by those on the part of the U. S., on the subject of acc'ts, &c. The Com'rs on the other part refused to receive it or to send it Sir G. Carlton. Gen'l Washington has inclosed it to him in a letter which has not yet been answered. This is all we as yet know of the negotiation." * * * "Gen'l Lee died here on Wednesday last after a short illness."

—*To Edmund Randolph.*

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM SIR G. CARLTON TO GENERAL WASHINGTON, IN THE HANDWRITING OF JAMES MADISON.

Philadelphia, October 15, 1782—

"Extract of a letter from Sir G. Carlton to Gen'l Washington, dated N. Y., September 12th, 1782.

* * * "Partial tho' our suspension of hostilities may be called, I thought it sufficient to have prevented those cruelties in the Jersies [avowed] which I have had occasion to mention more than once, but if war was the choice, I never expected this suspension should operate further than to induce them to carry it on as is practiced by men of liberal minds. I am clearly of opinion with your Excellency that mutual agreement is necessary for a suspension of hostility, & that without this mutual agreement either is free to act as each may judge expedient, yet I must at the same time frankly declare to you that being no longer able to discern the object we contend for, I disapprove of all hostilities both by land and sea, as they only tend to multiply the miseries of individuals, when the public can reap no advantage by success. As to savages I have the best assurances that from a certain period not very long after my arrival here, no parties of Indians were sent out, and that messengers were despatched to recall those who had gone forth before that time, & I have particular assurances of disapprobation of all that happened to your party on the side of Sandusky, except so far as was necessary for self defence." * * * "It would appear from this paragraph that the insidious object of a separate convention with America was still pursued."

Philadelphia, October 22, 1782—

* * * "The same conveyance brought Congress a letter from Mr. Dana dated June 28th. It consists almost entirely of a dissertation on the commercial advantage of the Revolution to Russia, which had in consequence of his management been ultimately placed in the hands he wished. As a sample of his competency to the subject, I subject the following paragraph. 'Besides, how is Russia paid for her productions, &c.? Is it not by an exchange in a very great proportion for foreign commodities? Are not many of these foreign commodities of the peculiar production or manufacture of America, such as Rice, Indigo, Sugar, Coffee, Cocoanuts, Pimento, Cochineal and all sorts of dying woods? Does it make no difference to the interests of Russia, whether

"she

78—Continued.

she receives those articles directly from the countries which produce them, or in a circuitous voyage through G. B. &c.?' As a sample of his political talents, here is another paragraph. 'Immediately after we had rec'd intelligence here of the late important change in the Council & in the System of G. B. I consulted my correspondent upon the expediency of disclosing my public character without further delay to her Majesty's principal Minister. He gave me his opinion freely & candidly. For your information I need only say that it is the same in every respect with his former one &c. I can not take upon me to say that his opinion is not well founded. My private sentiment then was that that event could not fail to occasion a correspondent change in her Majesty's system, also, but I knew my means of information were not as good as those of my correspondent, and that tho' every one seemed to think the mediation of her Majesty between G. B. and Holland in effect at an end, yet in form it was still kept up; so that the reasons against &c. might still be supposed to have some influence. This determined me to conform to his advice.' * * * "The Sec'y at War lately communicated to Congress an extract of a letter from Gen'l Washington of a very unwelcome tenor. It paints the discontents of the army in very unusual colours, and surmises some dangerous eruption, unless a payment can be effected within the present year. The Sec'y is gone to Head Quarters at the request of the general. How far their joint precautions will calm the rising billows, must be left to the result."

—*To Edmund Randolph.*

Philadelphia, October 29, 1782—

* * * "Some intelligence has been rec'd from the Frontiers of N. Y. which revive the apprehension of further inroads from Canada and of a cooperation on the part of the Vermonters. The tenor of Carlton's letter to Gen'l Washington on this subject and other circumstances render this article at least extremely doubtful.

"The British fleet at N. Y. has been busy in preparing for sea and will probably soon depart from that Station. The W. Indies most naturally occur as the object of its destination. It is said their preparations have been much expedited by the most direct & undisguised supplies from the people of New Jersey.

"Congress have been occupied for several days past with the case of Lippincott referred to them by Gen'l Washington. On one side it was urged that the disavowal and promises by the British commander, the abolition of the obnoxious board of refugees, and the general change of circumstances rendered retaliation unnecessary and inexpedient. On the other side it was contended that a departure from the resolution so solemnly adopted and repeated by Gen'l Washington, and with equal solemnity ratified by Congress would be an indelible blot on our character; that after the confessions on the part of the enemy of the deed complained of, a greater inflexibility on our part would be looked for; that after such confessions too, the enemy would never suffer the innocent to perish, if we persisted in demanding the guilty, and finally that if they should suffer it, the load would be on their heads not on ours. No definite resolution has yet passed on the subject, all the intermediate steps have been very properly entered on the secret journals.

"General Lincoln has just returned from the Army. He has not yet made report to Congress. He says I understand that his visit has had a very salutary operation, but that some pay must be found for the army. Where it is to be found God knows. The state of the public finances already compelled the superintendent to give a discharge of the former contractors, and to accept of a new contract by which thirty per cent is added to the price of a ration in consideration of credit for three months. He has on this occasion written a pressing exhortation to the States, which I suppose is accessible to you."

—*To Edmund Randolph.*

Philadelphia, March 24, 1783—

* * * "By a letter despatched by C't d'Estaing & the Marquis de la Fayette from Cadiz on Feb'y 14th & which arrived here last evening we have it confirmed that the preliminary articles for a general peace were signed in January. The day of the signature as well as of the cessation of hostilities are

"omitted

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omitted in the abstract rec'd by the Secretary of F. A. The changes produced in the possession of the belligerent parties as nearly as I can recollect them are that as to the Fisheries France cedes to G. B. the coast from Cape Bonavista & in N. foundland, & with some small exceptions makes restitution in W. Indies. In the W. Indies she receives back St Lucia. In the E Indies her losses are also restored. Spain retains Minorca & W Florida which is to extend to 32° N. L. from Mississippi to head of St Mary's. G. B. cedes to her E. Florida & receives back the Bahamas."

—*To J. Maury.*

Philadelphia, May 13, 1783—

* * * "Gen'l Washington & Gen'l Carlton have had an interview on the subject of the provisional treaty which was interrupted by the indisposition of the latter. It w'd seem from the conversation which passed that altho' a sincere intention is professed of evacuating N Y. & all the other ports, the time of which it may be expected is very uncertain, and that a shameful evasion of the article for restoring the slaves, will be practised. Carlton did not deny that numbers of them were going off from N. Y. and attempted to justify the indulgence by a most outrageous misconstruction of the Treaty, and by the pretended necessity of adhering to the tenor of the proclamation under which the Negroes had resorted within the British lines. He said that in case a different construction of the Treaty s'd be established a compensation would be made to the suffering owners, and that the precaution of keeping Registers of all negroes which should leave N Y. would be accordingly observed. An ominous sample of candor & good faith in our New friends!"

Philadelphia, July 17, 1783—

* * * "The usual reserve of our Ministers has kept us in entire suspense since my last with regard to the definite Treaty and everything else in Europe. The only incident produced in this interval has been that which removed Congress from this city to Princeton. I have selected the newspaper which contains the Report of a committee on that subject, from which you will collect the material information. Soon after the removal of Congress the mutineers surrendered their arms and impeached some of their officers, the two principal of whom have escaped to sea. Gen'l Howe with a detachment of Eastern troops is here and is instituting an enquiry into ye whole plot, the object & scheme of which are as yet both involved in darkness. The Citizens of this place seem to disavow the alleged indisposition to exert force ag't insults offered to Congress and are uniting in an address rehearsing the proofs which they have given of attachment to the fœderal authority."

Philadelphia, August 5, 1783—

* * * "The Gazette which I enclose will give you a sight of the Philad'a address to Congress and their answer. Since I left Princeton last I understand the question has been agitated relative to the return of Congress to this city and a day fixed for its final discussion. There is little reason to suppose that it will be decided in the affirmative by the present composition & thinness of Congress. I rather suppose that no question will be taken when the probability of a negative is fully discovered, though it will be pushed by those who wish to multiply obstacles to a removal south of the Delaware."

Orange, April 15, 1785—

* * * "I have been honored with yours of February accompanying the Testimony which the University of William & Mary have been pleased to bestow on me. A distinction which is rendered so flattering both by the characters of those from whom it is received, and of those with whom it associates me, calls for acknowledgments, which I should feel greater satisfaction in expressing if I had less reason to distrust my title to it. Regarding it however as a proof that those who so worthily minister in the Temple of Science, are disposed not only to reward the merits of her illustrious Votaries, but to patronize in the humblest of them a zeal for her service. I find in the sincerity of mine, an offering which they will not refuse, and which I must beg you, Sir, in the most respectable manner to present to them."

—*To George Wythe.*

Letters of James Madison, to Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, Edmund Pendleton and Edmund Randolph, from 1785 to 1803, on matters appertaining to the Treaties with Great Britain and France; on the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and on affairs of State in general.

- 79 Madison, James. President of the United States. Letters, etc., of, to Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, Edmund Pendleton, Edmund Randolph and others, from July 28, 1785, to May 1, 1803. Folio and quarto; consisting of 92 Autograph Letters, signed and mostly addressed; 14 Autograph Letters, unsigned, and 6 copies and extracts of Letters, in all 112 pieces neatly inserted in one volume. Folio. Full morocco.

NOTE.—*The series of letters and documents under this number, embraces some of the most important of this catalogue. They relate to the momentous events immediately preceding and during the formation of the convention to revise the Confederation and the adoption of the federal Constitution. In the framing of the new system, Mr. Madison's pure patriotism and great wisdom are shown in every line in which he explains his views of what should be done in order to secure firm foundations for the form of government which was to be erected, that it might prove of everlasting benefit to the people of this country. The same patriotism and wisdom are likewise shown in his views on the insurrection in Massachusetts, and the prohibition act of the Virginia Assembly; on the dispute in regards to the navigation of the Mississippi, on the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, and treaties with Holland, Russia and France, and, in fact, in every great question of the many that at that time required a general knowledge of matters together with all the other virtues of which he was possessed. The few extracts which we give of some of his letters will convey an idea of their importance.*

Orange, March 14, 1786—

* * * "I have just rec'd a few lines from the Attorney which inform me that it has been agreed by a meeting of the deputies for a Continental Convention, to propose Annapolis as the place & the first Monday in Sept'r for the time of its assembling, and that a circular letter has been despatched to that effect. What is thought of the measure where you are and what probability is there that it will be generally acceded to by the States? I am far from entertaining sanguine expectations from it, and am sensible that it may be viewed in one objectionable light. Yet on the whole I cannot disapprove of the experiment. Something it is agreed is necessary to be done, towards

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the commerce at least of the U. S., and if anything can be done, it seems as likely to result from the proposed Convention, and more likely to result from the present crisis, than from any other mode or time. If nothing can be done we may at least expect a full discovery as to that matter from the experiment, and such a price of knowledge will be worth the trouble and expences of obtaining it."

—*To James Monroe.*

Richmond, November 30, 1786—

* * * "The inclosed ac't marks the present temper of the Assembly towards our Continental system. The deputies are not yet appointed under it. It is proposed to select such as will give dignity to the experiment, & at the same time be most likely to gain a ratification of the result from those to whom it will be reported. Gen'l Washington's name will probably be placed in the front of the appointments."

—*To Edmund Pendleton.*

New York, February 15, 1787—

* * * "We have as yet no definite information from Mass'ts touching the operations of Gen'l Lincoln. Little doubt however is entertained that the insurrection will be effectually quelled. The Legislature of that State seem to have taken great spirits from the prospect. They have come at length to the Resolution of declaring the existence of a Rebellion, and it is said mean to disarm and disfranchise all who have been engaged in it. We have no information from any other quarter, and I have not been here long enough to collect any just idea of the general politics here."

—*To Edmund Randolph.*

New York, February 18, 1787—

* * * "Congress have received no late intelligence either from him [Jefferson] or Mr Adams. Nor have any interesting measures yet taken place since they have been assembled in force. Those in expectation relate to 1, the Mississippi; on this subject I have no information to give, not a word having passed concerning it since my arrival. 2, The treaty of peace. This subject is now depending in the form of a Report from Mr Jay. I find what I was not before apprised of, that infractions on the part of the U. S. preceded in several instances over the violation on the other side, in the instance of the Negroes. If Congress should be able to agree on any measures for carrying the Treaty into execution, it seems probable that the fundamental one will be a summons of the States to remove all legal impediments which stand at present in the way. There seems to be no reason to believe that G. B. will comply on any other conditions than those signified in the communication of Lord Carmarthen to Mr Adams. 3, The proposed convention in May. A great disagreement of opinion exists as to the expediency of a recommendation from Congress to the backward States in favor of the meeting. It would seem as if some of the States disliked it because it is an extra constitutional measure, and that their dislike would be removed or lessened by a sanction from Congress to it; on the other hand it is suggested that some would dislike it the more if Congress should appear to interest themselves in it. I observe in a like Newspaper that instructions are to be brought forward in the Legislature here to the Delegates in Congress, to propose and urge their interposition in favor of the Convention. What the sense of the State is on the merits of the project is not perfectly clear. A refusal a few days ago by a large majority to grant the impost does not augur well. Hopes however are entertained. The four States North of it are still to declare their sentiments. Massachusetts it is now expected will appoint deputies to the Convention, and her example will be much respected by the three others. The intermediate States from N. Y. to S. Carolina, Maryland excepted, have

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made appointments, and Maryland has determined to do so tho' she has not yet agreed on the individuals. S. Carolina & Georgia are supposed by their Delegates here to be well disposed to back the plan. 4. The troops raising under the authority of Congress in Massachusetts. The prospect of a close to the turbulent scenes in that quarter has produced a motion for stopping the enlistments. The delegates from the N. England States generally and from Massachusetts in particular are anxious that the motion should be suspended for a few weeks. That the influence of the Military preparations of the U. S. may be continued in favor of their State measures, some of which are likely to be pretty vigorous, and to try the strength of their Gov't. It appears besides that the Ringleader of the insurrection has not been apprehended, and according to report still harbours mischief."

New York, February 25, 1787—

* * * "The Secretary's dispatch will have communicated to you the Resolution of Congress giving their sanction to the proposed Meeting in May next. At the date of my last a great division of opinion prevailed on the subject, it being supposed by some of the States that the interposition of Congress was necessary to give regularity to the proceeding, and by others that a neutrality on their wishes to enlarge the powers within their own administration. The circumstance which conduced much to decide the point, was an instruction from N. York to its delegates to move in Congress for some recommendation of a Convention. The style of the instruction makes it probable that it was the wish of this State to have a new Convention instituted, rather than the one on foot reorganized. Massachusetts seemed also skittish on this point. Connecticut opposed the interposition of Congress altogether. The Act of Congress is so expressed as to cover the proceedings of the States which have already provided for the Convention without any pointed recognition of them.

"Our situation is becoming every day more & more critical. No money comes into the federal Treasury, no respect is paid to the federal authority, and people of reflection unanimously agree that the existing Confederacy is tottering to its foundation. Many individuals of weight, particularly in the Eastern district are suspected of leaning towards Monarchy. Other individuals predict a partition of the States into two or more Confederacies. It is pretty certain that if some radical amendment of the Single one cannot be divined and introduced that one or other of these resolutions, the latter no doubt, will take place. I hope you are bending your thoughts seriously to this great work of guarding against both."

—*To Edmund Randolph.*

New York, March 11, 1787—

* * * "The appointments for the Convention are still going on. Georgia has appointed her delegates to Congress her representatives in that body also. The Gentlemen from that State here at present are Col Few, and Maj Pierce formerly aid to Gen'l Green. I am told just now that S. C. has appointed the two Rutledges and Maj Butler. Col Hamilton with Mr Yates and a Mr Lansing are appointed by N. York. The two latter are supposed to lean too much towards State considerations to be good members of an Assembly which will only be useful in proportion to its superiority to partial views & interests. Massachusetts has also appointed—Messrs Ghorum, Dana, King, Gerry & Strong compose her deputation. The Resolutions under which they are appointed restrain them from acceding to any departure from the principle of the 5th article of Confederation. It is conjectured that this fetter which originated with their Senate, will be knocked off. Its being introduced at all denotes a very different spirit in that quarter from what some had been led to expect. Connecticut it is now generally believed will come into the measure."

79—Continued.

New York, March 19, 1787—

* * * "I just learn from the Governor of Virginia that Mr Henry has resigned his place in the deputation from that State, and that Gen'l Nelson is put into it by the Executive who were authorized to fill vacancies. The Governor, Mr Wythe & Mr Blair will attend, and some hopes are entertained of Col Mason's attendance. Gen'l Washington has prudently authorized no expectations of his attendance, but has not either precluded himself absolutely from stepping into the field if the crisis should demand it. What may be the result of this political experiment cannot be foreseen. The difficulties which present themselves are on one side almost sufficient to dismay the most sanguine, whilst on the other side the most timid are compelled to encounter them by the mortal diseases of the existing constitution. These diseases need not be pointed out to you, who so well understand them. Suffice it is to say that they are at present marked by symptoms which are truly alarming, which have tainted the faith of the most orthodox republicans, and which challenge from the votaries of liberty every concession in favor of stable Government, not infringing fundamental principles, as the only security against an opposite extreme of our present situation. I think myself that it will be expedient in the first place to lay the foundation of the new system in such a ratification by the people themselves of the several States as will render it clearly paramount to their Legislative authorities." * * * "The expedition under General Lincoln against the insurgents has effectually succeeded in dispersing them. Whether the calm which he has restored will be durable or not is uncertain. From the precautions taking by the Gov't of Mass'ts it would seem as if their apprehensions were not extinguished. Besides disarming and disfranchising for a limited time those who have been in arms, as a condition of their pardon, a military corps is to be raised to the amount of 1000 or 1500 men, to be stationed in the most suspected districts. It is said that notwithstanding these specimens of the temper of the Government, a great proportion of the offenders choose rather to risk the consequences of their treason, than submit to the conditions annexed to the amnesty. That they not only appear openly on public occasions but distinguish themselves by badges of their character, and that this insolence is in many instances countenanced by no less decisive marks of popular favor than elections to local offices of trust & authority."

New York, March 25, 1787—

* * * "The refusal of Mr Henry to join in the task of revising the Confederation is ominous, and the more so I fear if he means to be governed by the event which you conjecture. There seems to be little hope at present of being able to quash the proceedings relative to the affair [Jay's project for shutting the Mississippi for twenty-five years] which is so obnoxious to him, tho' on the other hand there is reason to believe that they will never reach the object at which they aimed.

"Congress have not yet changed the day for meeting at Philad'a as you imagine. The Act of V'a I find has done so in substituting the 2d day for the 2d Monday in May, the time recommended from Annapolis.

"I cannot suppose that Mr Otis has equivocated in his explanation to the public touching the Floridas. Nothing of that subject has been mentioned here as far as I know. Supposing the exchange in question to have really been intended, I do not see the inference to be unfavourable to France. Her views as they occur to me would most probably be to conciliate the Western people in common with the Atlantic States, and to extend her commerce, by reversing the Spanish policy. I have always wished to see the Miss'pi in the hands of France, or of any Nation which would be more liberally disposed than the present holders of it."

79—Continued.

New York, April 2, 1787—

* * * "Rhode Island has negated a motion for appointing deputies to the Convention by a majority of 22 votes. Nothing can exceed the wickedness and folly which continue to reign there. All sense of character as well as of Rights is obliterated. Paper money is still their idol, though it is debased to 8 to 1."

—To Edmund Randolph.

New York, April 8, 1787—

* * * "I am glad to find that you are turning your thoughts towards the business of May next. My despair of your finding the necessary leisure is signified in one of your letters, with the probability that some leading propositions at last would be expected from Virg'a, had engaged me in a closer attention to the subject than I should otherwise have given. I will just hint the ideas which have occurred, leaving explanations for our interview.

"I think with you that it will be well to retain as much as possible of the old confederation, tho' I doubt whether it may not be best to work the valuable articles into the new system, instead of engrafting the latter on the former. I am also perfectly of your opinion that in framing a system, no material sacrifices ought to be made to local or temporary prejudices. An explanatory address must of necessity accompany the result of the Convention on the main object. I am not sure that it will be practicable to present the several parts of the reform in so detached a manner to the States, as that a partial adoption will be binding, particular States may view the different articles as conditions of each other, and would only ratify them as independent propositions. The consequence would be that the ratifications of both would go for nothing. I have not however examined this point thoroughly. In truth my idea of a reform strike so deeply at the old confederation, and lead to such a systematic change, that they scarcely admit of the expedient.

"I hold it for a fundamental point that an individual independence of the States is utterly irreconcilable with the idea of our aggregate Sovereignty. I think at the same time that a consolidation of the States into one simple republic is not less unattainable than it would be expedient. Let it be tried then, whether any middle ground can be taken which will at once support a due supremacy of the national authority, and leave in force the local authorities so far as they can be subordinately useful.

"The first step to be taken is I think a change in the principle of representation. According to the present form of the Union, an equality of suffrage if just towards the large members of it, is at least safe to them, as the liberty they exercise of rejecting or executing the acts of Congress, is uncontrollable by the nominal sovereignty of Congress. Under a system which would operate without the intervention of the States, the case would be materially altered, a vote from Delaware would have the same effect as one from Mass'ts or Virg'a.

"Let the national Government be armed with a positive & competent authority in all cases where uniform measures are necessary, as in trade, &c, &c. Let it also retain the powers which it now possesses.

"Let it have a negative in all cases whatsoever on the Legislative acts of the States as the K. of G. B. heretofore had. This I conceive to be essential and the least possible abridgment of the State Sovereignities. Without such a defensive power, every positive power that can be given on paper will be unavailing. It will also give internal stability to the States. There has been no moment since the peace at which the federal assent w'd have been given to paper money, &c, &c.

"Let this internal supremacy be extended also to the Judiciary departments. If the judges in the last resort depend on the States & are bound by their oaths to them and not to the Union, the intention of the law and the interests of the nation may be defeated by the obsequiousness of the Tribunals to the policy or prejudices of the States. It seems at least essential that an

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appeal should lie to some national tribunals in all cases which concern foreigners, or inhabitants of other States. The admiralty jurisdiction may be fully submitted to the national Government.

"The supremacy of the whole in the Executive department seems liable to some difficulty, perhaps an extension of it to the case of the militia may be necessary & sufficient.

"A Government formed of such extensive powers ought to be well organized. The Legislative department may be divided into two branches, one of them to be chosen every—years by the Legislatures or the people at large; the other to consist of a more select number, holding their appointments for a longer term and going out in rotation. Perhaps the negative on the State laws may be most conveniently lodged in this branch. A Council of Revision may be superadded, including the great ministerial officers.

"A National Executive will also be necessary. I have scarcely ventured to form my own opinion yet either of the manner in which it ought to be constituted or of the authorities with which it ought [to be] clothed.

"An article ought to be inserted expressly guarantying the tranquility of the States ag'st internal as well as external dangers.

"To give the new system its proper energy it will be desirable to have it ratified by the authority of the people, and not merely by that of the Legislatures.

"I am afraid you will think this project, if not extravagant, absolutely unattainable and unworthy of being attempted. Conceiving it myself to go no further than is essential, the objections drawn from this source are to be laid aside. I flatter myself however that they may be less formidable on trial than in contemplation."

New York, April 15, 1787—

* * * "The probability of Gen'l Washington's coming to Philad'a is in one point of view flattering. Would it not however be well for him to postpone his actual attendance until some judgment can be formed of the result of the meeting? It ought not to be wished by any of his friends that he should participate in any abortive undertaking. It may occur perhaps that the delay would deprive the Convention of his presiding auspices and subject him on his arrival to a less conspicuous point of view than he ought on all occasions to stand in. Ag'st this difficulty must be weighed the consideration above mentioned, to which may be added the opportunity which Penn'a by the app't of Doct'r Franklin has afforded of putting sufficient dignity into the chair." * * *

"This City has been thrown into no small agitation by a motion made a few days ago for a short adjournment of Cong's and the appointment of Philad'a as the place for its re-assembly. No final question was taken but some preliminary questions showed that six States were in favor of it. R. Island the 7th State was at first in the affirmative, but one of its delegates was overcome by the exertions made to convert him. As neither Maryland nor S. Carolina were present the vote is strong evidence of the precarious tenure by which N. York enjoys her metropolitan advantages. The motives which led to their attempt were probably with some of a local nature, with others they were certainly of a general nature. I found on my arrival here among the Southern Gentlemen a heavy complaint of the preponderance given to the Eastern Scale by the very excentric position of Cong's and a determination to seize the first moment for taking a position in which the equilibrium would be less violated. The indignation of N. Jersey & of R. Island ag'st N. York, presented this moment, & the experiment was accordingly made. It cannot be denied that very substantial inconveniences arise to the Southern States from their remoteness from the Seat of Government, both with respect to the attendance of their delegates and the various intercourse of business within the federal administration, and that from the nature of things the interests and views of the State nearest to Cong's will always press more on their attention, than those of more distant. Had Cong's been sitting last fall at Fort Pitt, it is morally certain in my opinion that a surrender of the Mississippi w'd not have had two votes."

79—Continued.

New York, April 22, 1787—

* * * "A copper coinage was agreed on yesterday to the amount of two hundred & odd thousand dollars. It is to be executed under a contract between the Treasury board & the coiner, and under the inspection of a person to be appointed on the part of the U. S. 15 per cent is to be drawn from this operation into the federal Treasury.

"A great revolution is taking place in the Administration in Mass'ts. Bowdoin is displaced in favor of Hancock. A great proportion of the Senate is already changed and a greater is expected in the other branch of the Assembly. A paper emission there also is much feared by the friends of justice. I find that the fetter originally put on the deputies from that State to the Convention was taken off in consequence of the recommendatory act of Cong's & the commission adjusted to that act."

—*To Edmund Randolph.*

April 23, 1787—

* * * "The vigorous measures finally pursued by the Government of Massachusetts against the insurgents had the intended effect of dispersing them. By some it was feared that they would re-embody on the return of favorable weather, as yet no symptoms of such a design has offered. It would seem that they mean to try their strength in another way, that is, by endeavouring to give the elections such a turn as may promote their views under the auspices of Constitutional forms." * * * "Mr. Hancock takes the place of Mr. Bowdoin. His general character forbids a suspicion of his patriotic principles, but as he is an idolater of popularity, it is to be feared that he may be seduced by this foible into dishonorable compliance." * * * "The prospect of a full and respectable convention grows stronger every day. Rho. Island alone has refused to send deputies. Maryland has probably appointed by this time. Of Connecticut alone doubts are entertained. The antifederal party in that State is numerous & persevering. It is s'd that the elections which are now going on, are rather discouraging to the advocates of the Convention. Pennsylvania has added Doctor Franklin to her deputation. There is some ground to calculate on the attendance of Gen'l Washington." * * * "Deaths, Archibald Cary Esq., Jno Augustine Washington, brother of Gen'l W."

Philadelphia, June 10, 1787—

* * * "One of the earliest rules of the Convention restrained the members from any disclosure whatever of its proceedings, a restraint which will not probably be removed for some time. I think the rule was a prudent one not only as it will effectually secure the requisite freedom of discussion, but as it will save both the Convention and the community from a thousand erroneous and perhaps mischievous reports."

—*To James Monroe.*

New York, October 21, 1787—

* * * "We hear that opinions are various in Virginia on the plan of the Convention." * * * "The Newspapers in the Middle & Northern States begin to teem with controversial publications. The attacks seem to be principally levelled ag't the organization of the Government, and the omission of the provisions contended for in favor of the Press & Juries, &c." * * * "N. Hampshire which rec'd the Constitution on the point of their adjournment were extremely pleased with it. All the information from Mass'ts denotes a favorable impression there. The Legislature of Connecticut have unanimously recommended a choice of Convention in that State." * * * "Rho. Island is divided, the majority being violently ag't it. The temper of this State cannot yet be fully discovered." * * * "N. Jersey appears to be zealous." * * * "There will probably be a strong opposition in Penn'a." * * * "Doct'r Carroll who came hither lately from Maryland tells me, that the
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public voice there appears at present to be decidedly in favor of the Constitution. Notwithstanding all these circumstances I am far from considering the public mind as fully known or finally settled on the Subject."

—To Edmund Randolph.

New York, November 18, 1787—

* * * "I have not since my arrival collected any additional information concerning the progress of the federal Constitution. I discovered no evidence on my Journey through N. Jersey, that any opposition whatever would be made in that State. The Convention of Pennsylvania is to meet on Tuesday next. The members returned I was told by several persons, reduced the adoption of the plan in that State to absolute certainty and by a greater majority than the most sanguine advocates had calculated. One of the Counties which had been set down by all on the list of opposition had elected deputies of known attachment to the Constitution."

—To Edmund Randolph.

New York, December 2, 1787—

* * * "The inclosed paper contains two numbers of the Federalist. This paper was begun about three weeks ago, and proposes to go through the subject. I have not been able to collect all the numbers, since my return from Philad'a or I would have them sent to you. I have been the less anxious as I understood the printer means to make a pamphlet of them, when I can give them to you in a more convenient form. You will probably discover marks of different pens. I am not at Liberty to give you any other key than that I am in myself for a few numbers, & that one besides myself was a member of the Convention."

—To Edmund Randolph.

New York, December 20, 1787—

* * * "Since the date of my other letter, the Convention of Delaware have unanimously adopted the new Constitution. That of Pennsylvania has adopted it by a majority of 46 ags't 23. That of New Jersey is sitting and will adopt it pretty unanimously. These are all the Conventions that have met. I hear from North Carolina that the Assembly there is well disposed. Mr Henry, Mr Mason, R. H. Lee, and the Governour continue by their influence to strengthen the opposition in Virginia. The Assembly there is engaged in several mad freaks, among others a bill has been agreed to in the House of Delegates *prohibiting* the importation of *Rum, brandy*, and all other spirits not distilled from some American production. All brewed liquors under the same description, with Beef, tallow, candles, cheese, &c. are included in the prohibition. In order to enforce this despotic measure, the most despotic measures are resorted to. If any person be found after the commencement of the Act, in the use or *possession* of any of the prohibited articles, tho' acquired previous to the Law, he is to lose them and pay a heavy fine. This is the form on which the bill was agreed to by a large majority in the House of Delegates. It is a child of Mr Henry & said to be his favorite one."

New York, January 10, 1788—

* * * "In this State [New York] the party adverse to the Constitution, notoriously meditate either a dissolution of the Union, or protracting it by patching up the Articles of Confederation. In Connecticut & Massachusetts, the opposition proceeds from that part of the people who have a repugnancy in general to good government, to any substantial abridgment of State powers, and a part of whom in Mass'ts are known to aim at confusion, and are suspected of wishing a reversal of the Revolution. The Minority in Pennsylv'a as far as they are governed by any other views than an habitual &

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factions opposition to their rival, are manifestly averse to some essential ingredients in a national Government. You are better acquainted with Mr Henry's politics than I can be, but I have for some time considered him as driving at a Southern Confederacy, and as not farther concurring in the plan of amendments than as he hopes to render it subservient to his real designs." * * * "Had the Constitution been framed & recommended by an obscure individual, instead of a body possessing public respect & confidence, there can not be a doubt, that altho' it would have stood in the identical words, it would have commanded little attention from most of those who now admire its wisdom. Had yourself, Col Mason, Col R. H. Lee, Mr Henry & a few others seen the Constitution in the same light with those who subscribed it, I have no doubt that Virginia would have been as zealous & unanimous as she is now divided on the subject."

New York, July 20, 1787—

* * * "The intelligence from Massachusetts begins to be rather ominous to the Constitution. The interest opposed to it is reinforced by all connected with the late insurrection, and by the province of Maine which apprehends difficulties under the new system in obtaining a separate Government greater than may be otherwise experienced. Judging from the present state of the intelligence as I have it, the probability is that the voice of that State will be in the negative. The Legislature of this state is much divided at present. The House of Assembly are said to be friendly to the merits of the Constitution. The Senate, at least a majority of those actually assembled, are opposed even to the calling of a convention. The decision of Mass'ts in either way will decide the voice of this State. The Minority in Penn'a are extremely restless under their defeat; will endeavor at all events if they can get an assembly to their wish to undermine what has been done there."

—*To Edmund Randolph.*

New York, January 27, 1788—

* * * "A Congress was made for the first time on Monday last and our friend C. Griffin placed in the Chair. There was no competition in the case which you will wonder at as Virginia has so lately supplied a president. N. Jersey did not like it very well I believe, but acquiesced." * * * "Mr Gerry had been introduced to a seat for the purpose of stating facts. On the arrival of the discussion at the article concerning the Senate, he signified without being called on, that he had important information to communicate on that subject. Mr Dana & several others remarked on the impropriety of Mr G——y's conduct. G—— rose to justify, others opposed it as irregular, a warm conversation arose & continued till the adjournment, after which a still warmer one took place between Gerry & Dana."

New York, July 2, 1788—

* * * "There are public letters just arrived from Jefferson. The contents are not yet known. His private letters to me & others refer to his public [letters] for political news. I find that he is becoming more & more a friend to the new Constitution, his objection being gradually dispelled by his own further reflections on the subject. He particularly renounces his opinion concerning the expediency of a ratification by 9 & a repeal by 4 States, considering the mode pursued by Massachusetts as the only rational one, but disapproving some of the alterations recommended by that State. He will see still more room for disapprobation in the recommendations of other States. The defects of the Constitution which he continues to criticise are the omission of a bill of rights, and of the principle of rotation at least in the Ex. Departm'ts."

—*To Edmund Randolph.*

79—Continued.

New York, August 11, 1788—

* * * "The length of the interval since my last has proceeded from a daily expectation of being able to communicate the arrangements for introducing the New Government. The time necessary to be fixed by Congress have been many days agreed on. The place of meeting has undergone many vicissitudes and is still as uncertain as ever. Philad'a was first named by a member from Connecticut, and was negatived by the voice of one from Delaware who wished to make an exponent for Wilmington. New York came next into view. Lancaster was opposed to it, & failed. Baltimore was next tried and to the surprise of everyone had seven votes, S. Carolina joining the Southern States & Penn'a in the question. It was not difficult to foresee that such a vote could not stand; accordingly the next day N. York carried it on a second trial, and at present fills the blank."

—To Edmund Randolph.

New York, August 22, 1788—

* * * "The effect of Clinton's circular letter in Virg'a does not surprise me. It is a signal of concord & hope to the enemies of the Constitution every where, and will I fear prove extremely dangerous. Notwithstanding your remarks on the subject, I cannot but think that an *early* convention will be an unadvised measure. It will evidently be the offspring of party & passion, and will probably for that reason alone be the parent of error and public injury. It is pretty clear that a majority of the people of the Union are in favor of the Constitution as it stands, or at least are not dissatisfied with it in ye form, or if this be not the case it is at least clear that a greater proportion unite in that system than are likely to unite in any other theory. Should radical alterations take place perforce they will not result from the deliberate sense of the people, but will be obtained by management, or extorted by measures, and will be a real sacrifice of the public will as well as of the public good, to the views of individuals & perhaps the ambition of the State legislature.

"Congress have come to a final decision as to the place for convening the new Governm't. It is unfortunately become a question now between N. & South, and notwithstanding the palpable unreasonableness of the thing, an adherence to N. York in preference to any more central portion seems to grow stronger & stronger, and upon grounds which tend to keep Congress here till a permanent seat be established."

New York, September 14, 1788—

* * * "Your favor of the 3rd instant would have been acknowledged two days ago, but for the approaching completion of the arrangements for the new Gov't, which I wished to give you the earliest notice of. This subject has long employed Cong's, and has in its progress assumed a variety of shapes, some of them not a little perplexing. The times as finally settled are, Jan'y for the choice of Electors, Feb'y for the choice of a President, and March for the meeting of the Congress. The place, the present seat of the fed'l Gov't. The last point was carried by the yielding of the smaller to the inflexibility of the greater number. I have myself been ready for bringing it to this issue for some time, perceiving that further delay could only discredit Cong's and injure the object in view. Those who had opposed N. York along with me could not overcome their repugnance so soon. Maryland went away before the question was decided in a temper which I believe would never have yielded. Delaware was equally inflexible. Previous to our final assent a motion was made which tendered a blank for any place the majority could choose between the North River and the Potomac. This being rejected the alternative remaining was to agree to N. York, or to strangle the Gov't in its birth. The former as the lesser evil was of course preferred and must now be made the best of."

—To Edmund Randolph.

79—Continued.

New York, October 17, 1788—

* * * "I mean not to decline an agency in launching the new Gov't if such should be assigned me in one of the Houses, and I prefer the latter (House of Representatives) chiefly because if I can render any service there it can only be to the public, and not even in imputation to myself. At the same time my preference I own is somewhat founded on the supposition that the arrangements for the popular elections may secure me ag't any competition which w'd require on my part any step that w'd speak a solicitude which I do not feel, or have the appearance of a spirit of electioneering which I despise."

October 28, 1788—

* * * "The public mind seems not to be yet settled on the Vice President. The question has been supposed to lie between Hancock & Adams. The former is far the more popular man in N. England, but he has declared to his lady, *it is said*, that she had ever been the first in America & he w'd never make her the second. On the other hand Adams has signified, *it is said*, that he will serve the public in no other office."

Orange, June 29, 1792—

* * * "I have given a hasty perusal to the controversial papers on the election. The spirit of party sufficiently appears in all of them. Whether Clinton ought to waive the advantage of forms may depend I think on the question of substance involved in the conduct of the Otsego election. If it be clear that a majority of *legal* honest votes was given ag't him, he ought certainly not to force himself on the people, on a contrary supposition, he cannot be under such an obligation, and would be restrained by respect for his party, if not by a love of power. It is curious eno' to see Schuyler who is supposed to have made millions by Jobbery in paper, under his own measure accusing & abusing Clinton in the face of the world for Jobbing in land under the same aggravation. Should Clinton's character suffer in any way by the transaction, the consequence you have always apprehended, will be made certain & worse; but from the attachment of a number of respectable & weighty individuals, a reconsideration is not much to be looked for unless the aspect of the man sh'd be greatly varied in their eyes by this or some other occurrence."

New York, July 24, 1791—

* * * "I have seen 'Frenau, and, as well as Col H. Lee, have pressed the establishment of himself in Philad'a where alone his talents can do the good or reap the profit of which they are capable. Though leaning strongly ag't the measure, under the influence of little objections which his modesty magnified into important ones, he was less decided on the subject than I had understood. We are to have a further conversation, in which I shall renew my efforts, and do not despair, though I am not sanguine, of success. If he yields to the reasoning of his friends it is probable that he will at least commence his plan in alliance with Child's or to the emoluments. In the conduct and title of the paper it will be altogether his own. I am not much disappointed tho' I much regret the rejection of P—e in the late appointment. Another opportunity of doing him some justice may not occur, and at the present moment it was to be wished for a thousand reasons that he might have received from this country such a token of its affection and respect."

—To Thomas Jefferson.

Virginia, April 1793—

* * * "I have rec'd your letter of the 10th of October accompanying the decree of the National assembly of the 26th of Aug't last, which confers the

"title

79—Continued.

title of French citizen on several foreigners among whom I have the honor to be named.

"In the catalogue of sublime truths and precious sentiments recorded in the revolution of France, none is more to be admired than the renunciation of those prejudices which have perverted the artificial boundaries of nations into exclusions of the philanthropy which ought to cement the whole into one great family. The recitals of the act which you communicate contain the best comment on this great principle of humanity, and in proportion as they speak the magnanimity of the French nation, must claim the gratitude & affection of the Individuals so honorably adopted into her citizenship. For myself I feel these sentiments with all the force which that reflection can inspire, and I present them with peculiar satisfaction as a citizen of the U. S. which have borne so signal a part towards banishing prejudices from the world & reclaiming the lost rights of mankind, & whose public connection with France is endeared by the affinities of their mutual liberty and the sensibility testified by the Citizens of each Country to every event interesting to the fortunes of the other.

"To this tribute of respectful affection, I beg leave to add my anxious wishes for all the prosperity & glory to the French Nation which can accrue from an example corresponding with the dignified maxims they have established and completing the triumphs of Liberty, by a victory over the minds of all its adversaries.

"Be pleased, Sir, to accept acknowledgm'ts due to the sentiments you have personally expressed in transmitting the public act with which you were charged."

—*To Mr. Roland, Minister of the Interior of the French Republic.*

April 15, 1793—

* * * "Since mailing the enclosed I have a letter from Mr. Jef—son of Ap'l 7th. He says war was certainly declared between Eng'd & F & inclosed a newspaper which gives the acc't. The decl'n commenced on the part of the latter, and seems to be grounded on its alleged actual existence on the part of the former. 'An impeachment' (says Mr. Jay) 'is ordered here ag't' "Nicholson the Comptroller, by a vote almost unanimous of the H. of Rep's." "There is little doubt, I am told, but that much mala fides will appear, but" "E. R. thinks he has barricaded himself within the fences of the law. There" "is a good deal of connection between his manœuvres & the *accommodating*" "spirit of the Treas'y Dep't of the U. S., so as to interest the Impeachers" "not to spare the latter. Duer now threatens that if he is not relieved by" "certain persons, he will lay open to the world such a scene of villany, as" "will strike it with astonishment." I give you Mr. J's own words that you may judge in what degree any part of them are confidential."

—*To James Monroe.*

Letters of James Madison, from 1803 to 1830, to notable men of this country and Europe, principally on the impressment of American seamen, and other events which led to, and during, the War of 1812;
also
his valuable disquisition on the Constitution of the United States.

- 80 Madison, James. President of the United States. Letters, etc., of, to notable men of this country and of Europe, from July 29, 1803, to August 3, 1830. Folio and quarto; consisting of 85 Autograph Letters, signed; 94 Autograph Letters, unsigned; 9 Letters copied by Mrs. Dolly Madison; 17 Letters copied by other hands; and 27 Autograph Documents, etc., in all 232 pieces, neatly mounted in two volumes. Folio. Full morocco.

NOTE.—*Included in this number are the letters written principally on the impressment of American seamen by Great Britain, and events which led to the War of 1812; on important affairs of state during Mr. Madison's occupancy of the presidential chair, and the occupation of the city of Washington by the British army; on the doings of General Armstrong in his capacity of Secretary of War, and on matters appertaining to his resignation; answers to various institutions throughout the United States which had elected him as honorary member thereof; his letters to Thomas Jefferson in relation to the University of Virginia; and his famous letter to General Hayne, elucidating the rights and powers of the Federal Government under the Constitution of the United States.*

Virginia, Orange Court House, August 20, 1803—

* * * "I have long been sensible of the advantage taken of official silence, in propagating false reports for party purposes, and do full justice to your laudable anxiety to see a remedy applied to the evil. There are considerations however which must often forbid a resort to the remedy which would be most effectual, that of publishing the documents relating to the subject. Sometimes this would be treating the calumny with an importance not due to it. Sometimes a restraint is imposed by delicacy towards Foreign Governments, and sometimes by the propriety of making the communication in the first instance to the Legislature. And it is to be considered also that altho' publicity is favored generally by the principles of a few & fair Government, yet care ought to be taken in practice to weaken rather than to strengthen injurious inferences when silence may be indispensable. The course to be pursued therefore in particular cases must be determined by their circumstances. In that to which your letter refers, it is not thought proper that the document itself should be given out for the press. But there is no objection to its being affirmed, with allusion to the particular authority for the fact. That the British Gov't instead of obstructing in any way the cession of Louisiana to the U. S. has evinced the most perfect satisfaction at the event. It is true that

"the

80—Continued.

the terms of the cession might not at the time be fully known, but these can afford no colour for complaint, nor is there the least ground for supposing that they will produce it."

—*To William Duane.*

RESOLUTION OF VIRGINIA.

"A true copy in the handwriting of J. Pleasants, Clerk of the House of Delegates & Keeper of Rolls, of the Resolution of the Virginia Assembly, Feb'y 3rd, 1804. 'Resolved by the General Assembly of Virginia. That "the present administration of the Government of the United States, merit "the highest confidence of this Assembly, and of every American friendly "to Republican institutions, for the wise pacific, yet determined measures, by "which the extensive and fertile territory of Louisiana has been attached to "the Union."

TO THE MERCHANTS OF PHILADELPHIA.

Virginia, August 30, 1804—

* * * "I have received your letter of the 10th instant, written at the request of a number of the merchants of Philad'a.

"The late Convention with France for settling the claims of American Citizens, having provided for its own exposition & execution, any direct interference with the Board of Commissioners has been declined. In order to guard however just claims against the restricted meaning or construction of that instrument, measures have long since been put in train for securing by arrangement with the French Government an equitable distribution and extension of its benefits. The result of these measures is not yet finally known.

"If the liquidation of claims for property seized at Leghorn sh'd be made by the French Gov't to turn on the point of evidence as the claimants have been led to apprehend, it will certainly be a case in which a revision may be justly insisted on.

"The profitable trade with St. Domingo is a subject which has shared the attention of the Executive. Views of it have been exhibited to the French Gov't which may possibly effect a relaxation of the policy which seems at present to prevail. Should the prohibitions be adhered to, our citizens engaging in the trade must necessarily proceed at all the risks legally incident to it. Those who in pursuit of other and authorized branches of commerce may be subjected to injuries, under false imputations, will always be entitled to the patronage of the Gov't. It has long been understood that the Ports of Cuba & Porto Rico, and even some belonging to the Spanish main have been the scene of gross irregularities on American commerce and citizens, and the steps deemed proper in the case have been taken."

Washington, June 2, 1805—

* * * "You are probably not ignorant that an Act of Congress has conferred on General Fayette a grant of land amounting to between 11 & 12 thousand acres, in tracts not less than 1000 acres each, and that locations of it are authorized in the Orleans Territory. The friendship which has long subsisted between the Gen'l & myself has led him to transmit me his power of Attorney to obtain the execution of this grant, which is rendered extremely precious to him both by the motives which produced it, and by the seasonable aid which it affords to his private affairs, reduced by a course of well known circumstances. I am particularly anxious that all the benefit possible should accrue to him from the liberal intentions of Congress, and with this view that a selection of lands should be made with the best information, with a judgment capable of appreciating every local consideration, and with all the friendly zeal of which General Fayette is so worthy."

—*To Mr. Du Plantier.*

80—Continued.

Orange, August 18, 1807—

* * * "Having reason to believe that the President views such an interposition as you wish, in a light which places it beyond the sphere of the Executive functions, it necessarily rests with the Judicial authority to decide entirely of itself, on the indulgence which you think is due to the peculiarity & painfulness of your situation. You do no more than justice to the disposition of the Administration, in believing it to be unfavourable to unnecessary rigor. In this disposition I most sincerely participate, and there is certainly nothing in the tenor or manner of your letter, which is not calculated to strengthen it in relation to your particular case.

"With respect to your request of a certified copy of the original communication made by Gen'l Wilkinson to the President, of certain letters ascribed to you, and of a declaration from me whether and when he named you or any other person as the Author, it is proper to observe that all the Documents in question having been addressed to the President, and not being in my possession, it is not possible to comply with the request. It cannot be doubted however that the use of the communications will not be withheld from you. They are I believe, at present in the hands of the Prosecuting Attorney."

—To General Jonathan Dayton.

Montpellier, Virginia, September 17, 1808—

* * * "I have rec'd your letter of the 9th enclosing by order of the Democratic Republican meeting in New Castle County in Delaware, a printed copy of 'certain resolutions unanimously adopted by them.'

"The very honorable notice which my fellow Citizens composing the meeting have been pleased to take of my efforts in the public service, has the stronger claim on my grateful sensibility, as their good opinion is rendered particularly flattering by the enlightened principles which they avow, & by names long distinguished for patriotism which appear in these proceedings.

"I wish only that I could tender my acknowledgments without a consciousness that in every thing beyond a faithful zeal, for the Independent character and rightful interests of my country, far more than justice has been done to my services.

"May I be permitted Sir, to request that this inadequate expression of what I owe to the partiality of which you have been the organ, may be committed to the press, which is indeed the more proper, as the order which you executed, in transmitting the printed proceedings, makes us part of them."

—To George Read.

Washington, October 20, 1809—

* * * "I have rec'd your letter of the 30th ult, tending the support of the officers of the 4th Brigade, in the 3rd Division of Ohio militia to such measures as may be adopted by the Gov't at the present conjunction.

"With every allowance for the extraordinary course of events in Europe, the violent & unprovoked conduct of the principal Belligerents towards the U. S. justifies the feelings which it has excited in all good citizens. Among the occurrences least to have been anticipated, is the refusal of the B. Gov't to carry into effect the arrang't made by its pub. minister here. It forms a prominent point in our foreign relations, and whilst that and so many other differences involved in them, remain unsettled, the readiness to maintain the honor & essential interests of the nation, of which you have communicated an example, is as seasonable as it is laudable."

—To Brigadier Major Reynolds, aid to General Cass.

80—Continued.

March 31, 1811—

* * * "The House occupied by Mr Smith is the best in the place, and I believe is not yet out of reach." * * * "You should not wait for the receipt of your commission, but consider what has passed between us as sufficient ground for a communication to the Council. The actual receipt of the commission can not be a necessary preliminary. As well as I recollect I did not receive mine, as Secretary of State, till it was handed to me on the spot by Mr Jefferson. In case of appointments at a great distance, it might be extremely inconvenient for any other course to be observed. It is the more desirable that you should not wait for your commission, as I find that it will be Tuesday morning before its date will be consistent with the understanding & arrangement here, and your arrival would of consequence be thrown forward till the beginning of the next week.

—*To James Monroe.*

Washington, October 12, 1811—

* * * "The considerations out of which the C't martial in your case grew w'd attach particular regret to any circumstance, affecting even in appearance or opinion the justice & fairness of the proceedings, as they relate to yourself, as well as to the public. And you very justly take for granted, that the Ex. would be incapable of any other views or sentiments."

—*To General Wilkinson.*

March 17, 1812—

* * * "In the latter end of the year 1808 & Spring of 1809, two anonymous letters were addressed, one to the Sec'y of State, the other to the P. of the U. S. They related to a projected severance of the Union, brought to the knowledge of the writer, which was to be undertaken in case of a rupture with G. B. under the managem't of men of high standing, but was obviated for the time by the accommodation settled with Mr Erskine. The writer justly extenuated the importance of bringing to pub: view the guilty associates, signified his intention to resume his disclosures sh'd a future occasion call for them, and to give such evidences of their machinations as w'd be conclusive. Such an occasion is formed by existing circumstances. The British designs ag't our Union, have been happily detected & exposed. But no evidence is produced, having like effect as to domestic plotters, who in the event of war, may be expected to avail themselves of that advantage, in seizing any favorable moment for renewing their suspended machinations. As the motives to the communications & purposes alluded to are doubtless unchanged & as the want of names & dates to the letters conveying them, is supplied by the handwriting & post marks, this note may recall the subject to the writer, at a moment singularly critical. A com'e of investigation, under the title of Com'e of For. Relations, having been app'd by the H. of Rep's, any name & proofs, or the sources of them may be either pointed out to that body, or otherwise made known as may be thought proper."

—*To General Jonathan Dayton.*

Washington, January 14, 1813—

* * * "The inclosed communication will inform you of your app't to the direction of the Dep't of War. I hope it will not be incompatible with your views, to avail the public of your services in that important trust, and that you will be able without delay, to relieve the Sec'y of State who has been charged, ad interim, with that addition to his other duties."

—*To General Armstrong.*

80--Continued.

Washington, April 5, 1813—

* * * “Your letter of Mar 29th has been duly rec'd. Under the circumstances & arrangements necessary to be consulted, there would be difficulties in introducing your talents & experience into the military establishment, which do not permit me to hold out that prospect.

“I can only therefore do justice, as well to the exemplary sentiments your letter expresses, as to the motives which prompted the offer of your services, at a period so interesting to the destinies of your country, and return thanks & good wishes which are due to the friendly interest you take in my personal welfare.”

—*To Jonathan Dayton.*

Montpellier, September 8, 1813—

* * * “The loss of our command of Lake Champlain at so critical a moment, is deeply to be regretted. I can not but hope, from the measures taken, & the character of McDonough, that it will be regained in time for the co-operation of Hampton, or that the latter will be able to get forward by land, the essential means of wresting from the enemy the ports at their end of the lake. Chauncy I see has gone once more in search of the B. Squadron. I trust in his good sense & firmness as a security ags't his being hurried by an impatience to fix the public opinion in his favor. In the N. Western Quarter it would seem that Harrison has not been able to keep time with Perry. If no augmentation of the B. squadron should deprive ours of its superiority, the delay may have little effect.” * * * “The British fleet under Warren has returned to the South end of the Chesapeake, whether to renew operations in that quarter, to seek shelter ags't the approaching equinox, or to proceed to N. London, or elsewhere, is uncertain. N. London would occur as a probable object, if the particular season were not unfavorable to it. The two frigates there, are the next in importance to the objects presented in the Chesapeake. Whatever the immediate destination may be, it will be well to keep in mind, that as soon as the progress of the season renders a northern position unmanagable, the ulterior destination, according to their apparent plan of warfare, will be a Southern one, that is to say, the coasts & ports of S. C. & Georgia. Nor is it beyond the range of calculation that N. Orleans will be an object, more especially if our success in Canada, should suggest such a sett off.”

—*To General Armstrong.*

Montpellier, September 16, 1813—

* * * “I have just rec'd a letter of the 6th inst from the Secretary of War, in which he states that an addition of a half million to the monthly allotment of 1½ millions for War expenditure, is indispensable to the completion of the campaign, and that he has written to the paymaster to furnish a sum amounting to about \$400,000 called for by the estimate of paymaster Lee, as will be seen in the inclosed copy of his letter. I had previously learned from the paymaster General, that without an enlargement of his funds, he could not make the remittance due from his department, as so much depends on the success of the armies on the Canada frontier. I hope the Treasury will be able, in the last stage of the campaign to prevent any disappointment, which might endanger or embarrass its critical operation. No other expenditure not essential to the life or what is next to it, the credit of the Government, can be equally urgent.” [In the handwriting of Mrs. Dolly Madison].

—*To the Acting Secretary of the Treasury.*

80—Continued.

Washington, October 30, 1813—

* * * "The turn which things had taken in the S. W. quarter created much difficulty in employing the services of Gen. Williams in the way rendered desirable, by the confidence we all have in his capacity & activity. Both Gov'r Mitchell who not absolutely declined the command allotted to him, and Gen'l Pinkney have been apprized of Gen'l Williams' solicitude to be employed in the Expedition ag't the Creeks, and in terms indicating our opinion of his fitness to be as much in the front of it as might be practicable. The expedient of a brevet Commission, which you suggest, would answer the purpose ag't Military Pretensions." * * * "It is unfortunate that the weather has conspired so much with the manœuvres of the Enemy, to contract the period for the remaining operations. In the worst event, I hope an intermediate establishment between Kingston & Montreal can be secured, which adding to the advantages already gained in the present campaign, one having so favorable a bearing on the next will preserve the tone of the Nation, and inculcate on the enemy a disposition to peace."

—*To General Armstrong.*

Washington, November 15, 1813—

* * * "I have rec'd yours of the 8th from Sackets Harbour & shall look in a few days for some result of the critical posture of our Military Affairs on the St Lawrence. The weather here has become suddenly very cold, but without snow or rain, and seems to be getting back to a milder state. If it has not been more than proportionately worse at the scene of operations, the prosecution of them will not have been obstructed by that cause, and hopes may be indulged that they will be successful. I have had some apprehensions from the dates of re reinforcements from England, that they might arrive in time to strengthen the hands of Prevost, but if they be not greater than are stated, and his known force be as limited as it is understood to be, the prospect would still be hopeful.

"In choosing the place for Hill's trial, which should be delayed as little longer as may be, the primary consideration certainly is the convening to the Army, and I do not know that the secondary one, which regards the witnesses, affords material objections to Albany. The time and place at which they are to attend, can not be too soon made known, some of the most important witnesses being now in the Atlantic States, who may soon return to the Western.

"The vindictive order from Montreal threatens a serious retaliating contest. Altho' the Enemy have so great an excess of prisoners in their hands that scarcely any success at Montreal will ballance it, we must meet them with determination.

"The late communications from Harrison & Cass, the latter just app'd Gov'r of Michigan, call our attention to several points.

"1st The Gov't of the conquered Territory. In this point the answer is that the military authority of the Conqueror, to be exercised with as much lenity and as little needless innovation as possible, must prevail until the Legal Auth'y may interpose &c." * * *

—*To General Armstrong.*

December 29, 1813—

* * * "Besides the answer to Gen'l McClure, it may be proper to instruct Gen'l Wilkinson, to say frankly to Prevost, that the Burning of Newark was the effect of a misapprehension of the Officers, & not an order from the Gov't. This may be done without authorizing an inference that such a measure exceeds a just retaliation, or precluding a reflection on the facility with which a perseverance of the Enemy in a system of conflagration can be made reciprocal. A desire to put an end to such an aggravation of the Evils of war is a sufficient explanation of the disavowal." [Copy of a note in General McClure's letters of the 10th, 11th and 13th of December, 1813, returned to the Department of War].

80—Continued.

Montpelier, May 1, 1814—

* * * "Your letter of yesterday with the accompanying papers was delivered by Express today by 2 o'clock. The subject of them presents itself in a very perplexing posture. Under the power implied, when not expressly waived, the arrangements might be rejected, but respect for the motives and character of our functionary unite with other considerations against that course.

"The course you suggest has much to recommend it, but to procure a discharge of our remaining officers, by restoring the 23 original hostages without any provision for the 23 prisoners sent to England for trial, seems to be a tacit acknowledgment that we have been wrong, and our abandonment of those unfortunate individuals to their fate. We can not well say now more than at first, that to assert a right & intention to retaliate is equivalent to a retaliation.

"Will it not be better to execute the bargain as made by Gen'l W. and to open a further negotiation, stating to Prevost, that notwithstanding the objections of different sorts to the instrument, it has been determined not to exercise the right of rejecting it, and pressing on him a discharge, or at least a liberation on parole of the 46 Officers now in confinement. Our late example alone ought to produce that effect. In the meantime, the 23 hostages remaining in our hands may be placed under the usual confinement only for safe keeping of privates, prisoners. This relaxation of their condition will be justified to our view by the just presumption at this time that the 23 sent to England for Trial are less threatened with danger, and are not treated with a penal rigor, and the detention of them will be more than justified to the view of the Enemy by the number sent to England, as prisoners of war, who are not included in the Exchange by Prevost. Altho' taken like those sent to Hal & N. S. within his command & virtually admitted by him to be alike entitled to discharge."

—*To James Monroe.*

In Cabinet, June 7, 1814—

"The subject the opening of the campaign—

"1. Determined, nim: con: on an expedition into L. Huron of 4 or 5 Vessels, and 800 or 1000 troops. The first object to occupy Mechidack & St. Josephs—leaving ab't 500 to hold at least the former.

"2. do. nim: con: (except Mr. Monroe who did not positively oppose but thought the measure hazardous) in an expedition, with the forces under Gen'l Brown, from L. Erie, near long point, to Burlington Heights, preparatory to further operation for reducing the Peninsula & proceeding towards York &c. The expedition to depend on Commodore Chauney's getting the command of the L: without w'ch supplies could not be secured, and with which they might be conveyed safely by water, from Depots on the S. side of L. Ontario.

"3. do. nim: con: 14 or 15 Armed Boats, to be built at Sackets Harbour to command the St Lawrence under protection of posts to be supplied by detachments from Izard's command, so as to intercept the water communications between Montreal & Kingston.

"4. do. nim: con: The main force under Izard, to make demonstrations towards Montreal, as a diversion of the En'y from operations westward & affording a chance of compelling Prevost to fight disadvantageously, or break up his connection with L. Champlain."

June 20, 1814—

* * * "General Wilkinson it appears, addressed an application to the P. on the 6th ult: for an opportunity of securing testimony which may be lost by the casualties of the campaign. This is reasonable, and may be effected by

"dispositions

80—Continued.

depositions taken in the usual mode, a judge advocate attending on the part of the public. Give the proper instructions for the purpose, & let the Gen'l be informed that his request is complied with. It will be proper also to liberate him from his restriction to particular places of residence."

—*To the Secretary of War.*

"Estimate of force & preparation for defence of the City made up in Cabinet meeting July 1, 1814.

Cavalry City of W	120
Cavalry from Carlisle, say	200
Regular Infantry	1000
District Infantry	1000
Marines	120
District Artillery	200

Of Barney's corps	500
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3140

10,000 Militia to be recruited and held in readiness	10,000
Arms and Camp Equipage to be brought forward for use, Survey of the grounds, &c."	

July 2, 1814—

* * * In analogy to the arrangement yesterday decided on in reference to this city [Washington] & Baltimore and with a view to a systematic provision ag't invading armaments, the Secretary of War will digest and report to the President, corresponding precautionary means of defence, in reference to the other more important and exposed places along the Atlantic Frontier, particularly Boston, New York, Wilmington, Norfolk, Charlestown, Savanna, & N. Orleans. In addition to the distribution at suitable Depots, of Arms & other necessities. The Secretary will report, a circular communication to the Governors of the several States, calculated to obtain from them convenient designations of adequate portions of their Militia, with every other arrangement depending on the State Executives for having them in the best readiness for actual service in cases of emergency."

—*To the Secretary of War.*

August 13, 1814—

* * * "On viewing the course which the proceedings of the War Department have not unfrequently taken, I find that I owe it to my own responsibility as well as to other considerations, to make some remarks on the relations in which the Head of the Department stands to the President, and to lay down some rules for conducting the business of the Department which are dictated by the nature of those relations.

"In general the Secretary of War, like the Heads of the other Dept's, as well by express Statute as by the structure of the Constitution, acts under the authority & subject to the decisions & instructions of the President, with the exception of cases where the law may vest special & independent powers in the head of the Department.

"The following course will be observed in future :

"To be previously communicated to the President—

"1st. Orders from the Dep't of War establishing general or permanent regulations.

"2d. Orders for Courts of Enquiry or Courts Martial, on General Officers; or designating the number or members of the Court.

"3d. Commissions

80—Continued.

"3d. Commissions or notifications of appointment, to officers other than regular promotions, in contested cases.

"4th. Dismissions of Officers from the Service.

"5th. Consolidations of Corps or parts of Corps & translations of F'd Officers from one Regiment to another.

"6th. Acceptances & refusals of resignations from Officers above the rank of Captain.

"7th. Requisitions & receptions of militia into the service of the U. S.

"8th. Instructions relating to Treaties with the Indians.

"9th. Instructions to officers commanding Military Districts, or corps or Stations, relative to military movements or operations.

"10th. Changes in the boundaries of Military Districts, or the establishment of separate commands therein, or the transfer of General officers from one District or command to another District or command.

"In the absence of the P. from the Seat of Gov't previous communications to him may be waived in urgent cases, but to be subsequently made without delay.

"All letters giving military intelligence or containing other matters intended or proper for the knowledge of the P. will of course be immediately communicated to him."

—*For the Department of War.*

MEMORANDA.

August 24, 1814—

* * * "In the morning a note by an Express from Gen'l Winder was handed me. It was addressed to the Secretary of War. Not doubting the urgency of the occasion, I opened & read it, and it went on immediately by the Express to Gen Armstrong who lodged in the seven Buildings. Finding by the note that the General requested the speediest counsel, I proceeded to his Head Quarters on the Eastern Branch, trusting for notice to the Secretary of war to follow, to the note from Winder. On my reaching his quarters, we were successively joined by the Secretary of State (who soon, with our approbation, repaired to Bladensburg), the Secretary of the Navy & Mr Rush the Attorney General. After an hour or so, the Secretary of the Treasury arrived, and, quickly after, the Secretary of War. The latter had been impatiently expected, and surprize at his delay manifested. Gen Winder was at the moment setting off to hurry on the Troops to Bladensburg in consequence of certain intelligence that the Enemy had taken that direction. Barney's corps, was also ordered thither, leaving the Bridge to be blown up if necessary. On Gen'l Armstrong's coming into the room, he was informed of the certain march of the Enemy for Bladensburg, and of what had passed before his arrival; and he was asked whether he had any arrangement or advice to offer in the emergency. He said he had not, adding that as the battle would be between militia & regular troops, the former would be beaten.

"On coming out of the house & mounting our horses, the Secretary of the Treasury, who tho' in a very languid state of health had turned out to join us, observed to me privately, that he was grieved to see the great reserve of the Secretary of War (he had lodged in the same house with him), who was taking no part on so critical an occasion. That he found him under the impression, that as the means of defending the District had been committed to Gen Winder, it might not be delicate to intrude his opinions without the approbation of the President, tho' with that approbation he was ready to give any aid he could. Mr Campbell said that notwithstanding his just confidence in Gen Winder, he thought in the present state of things which called for all the military skill possible, the military knowledge and experience of the Secretary of War ought to be availed of, and that no considerations of delicacy ought to jeopardize the public safety. With these impressions he said he had

"thought

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thought it his duty to make this communication, and was very anxious that I should take some proper step in the case. I told him I could scarcely conceive it possible that Gen Armstrong could have so misconstrued his functions and duty as Secretary of War, that he could not but know that any proper directions from him would receive any sanction that might be necessary from the Executive; nor doubt that any suggestions or advice from him to Gen Winder would be duly attended to (in this case it had been requested in writing). I told Mr C. that I would speak to the Secretary of War explicitly on the subject, and accordingly, turning my horse towards him, expressed to him my concern & surprize, at the reserve he had shewed at the present crisis, and at the scruples I understood he had at offering his advice or opinion; that I hoped he had not construed the paper of instructions given him some time before (see the Paper of Aug 13, 1814) so as to restrain him in any respect from the exercise of functions belonging to his office; that at such a juncture it was to be expected that he should omit nothing, within the proper agency of the Secretary of War, towards the public defense; and that I thought it proper particularly that he should proceed to Bladensburg and give any aid to Gen Winder that he could; observing that if any difficulty on the score of authority should arise, which was not likely, I should be near at hand to remove it (it was my purpose in case there should be time, to have the members of the Cabinet together in Bladensburg, where it was expected Gen Winder would be, and in consultation with him to decide on the arrangements suited to the posture of things). He said in reply that he had put no such construction on the paper of instructions as was alluded to, and that, as I thought it proper, he would proceed to Bladensburg, and be of any service to Gen Winder he could. The purport of this conversation I communicated to Mr Campbell, who remained near us. The Secretary of War set off without delay for Bladensburg.

"After a short tour to the Marine Barracks whither the Sec'y of the Navy had gone, I mentioned to Mr Rush, who was with me my purpose of going to Bladensburg, and my object in so doing, he readily accompanied me. On approaching the Town, we learned from William Simmons, that Winder was not there, and that the Enemy were entering it. We rode up to him instantly. The Secretaries of State & War were with him. I asked the latter whether he had spoken with Gen Winder on the subject of his arrangements & views. He said he had not. I remarked that tho' there was so little time for it, it was possible he might offer some advice or suggestion that might not be too late to be turned to account, on which he rode up to the Gen'l, as I did myself. The uneasiness of my horse prevented me from joining in the short conversation that took place. When it was over, I asked Gen'l Armstrong whether he had seen occasion to suggest any improvement in any part of the arrangements. He said that he had not, that from his view of them they appeared to be as good as circumstances admitted.

"When the battle had decidedly commenced, I observed to the Secretary of War and Sec'y of State that it would be proper to withdraw to a position in the rear, where we could act according to circumstances, leaving military movements now to the military functionaries, who were responsible for them. This we did, Mr Rush soon joining us when it became manifest that the battle was lost. Mr Rush accompanying me, I fell down into the road leading to the city and returned to it.

"It had been previously settled that in the event of the Enemy taking possession of the City (Washington) and the necessity of Executive consultations elsewhere, Fredericks Town would be the proper place for the assembling of the Cabinet."

Brookville, August 27, 1814—

* * * "Finding that our army had left Montgomery Court House, we pushed on to this place with a view to join it, or proceed to the city, as further information might prescribe. I had just rec'd a line from Col Monroe saying that the Enemy were out of Washington & on the retreat to their ships & advising our immediate return to Washington. We shall accordingly set out

"thither

80—Continued.

thither immediately. You will of course take the same resolution. I know not where we are in the first instance to hide our heads, but shall look for a place on my arrival. Mr. Rush offers his house in the Six buildings, and the offer claims attention."

—To Mrs. Madison.

MEMORANDA.

* * * "In the evening of the 29th of August, 1814, being on Horseback I stopped at General Armstrong's lodgings for the purpose of communicating with him on the state of things in the District, then under apprehensions of an immediate visit from the forces of the Enemy at Alexandria.

"I observed to him that he could not be unaware of the great excitement in the District produced by the unfortunate event which had taken place in the City; that violent prejudices were known to exist against the Administration, as having failed in its duty to protect it, particularly ag't me & himself as head of the War Department; that threats of personal violence had, it was said, been thrown out ag't us both, but more especially ag't him; that it had been sufficiently known for several days & before his return* to the City (which was about one o'clock P. M. of the 29th) that the temper of the troops was such as made it expedient, if possible, that he should have nothing to do with them; that I had within a few hours rec'd a message from the Commanding General of the Militia informing me that every Officer would tear off his epaulets, if General Armstrong was to have any thing to do with them; that before his arrival there was less difficulty, as Mr. Monroe who was very acceptable to them, had, as on preceding occasions of his absence, though very reluctantly on this, been the medium for the functions of Secretary of War; but that since his return & presence the expedient could not be continued, and the question was, what was best to be done. Any conclusion at so critical a moment could not but have the worst consequences.

"He said he had been aware of the excitement ag't him; that it was altogether artificial, and that he knew the source of it, and intrigues by which it had been effected, which this was not the proper time for examining; that the excitement was founded on the most palpable falsehoods, and was limited to this spot; that it was evident he could not remain here, and the functions belonging to him divided or exercised by any one else, without forgetting what he owed to his station, and to himself; that he had come into his office with the sole view of serving the public, and was willing to resign it when he could no longer do so with honor & effect; that if it was thought best therefore that he should adopt this course he was ready to give up his appointment, or he could with my permission, retire from the scene, by setting out immediately on a visit to his family in the State of N. York.

"I observed that a resignation was an extent which had not been contemplated; that if made under such circumstances, it might receive constructions which could not be desirable, either in a public or a personal view; that a temporary retirement, as he suggested, tho' also subject to be viewed in some lights not agreeable, was on the whole less objectionable and would avoid the existing embarrassment, without precluding any future course which might be deemed most fit.

"He dwelt on the groundless nature of the charges which had produced the excitement, and on the limits within which they had & would operate, affirming that his conduct in relation to the defence &c of the City had proved that there had been no deficiency on his part.

"I told him that I well knew that some of the particular charges brought against him were destitute of foundation, and that as far as they produced the discontents, they would be limited both as to time & place, but that I suspected the discontents to be in a great measure rooted in the belief that he

"had

* He had repaired to Fredericktown, the place appointed for the rendezvous of the Executive in the event of their being driven from the city. The turn which things took after his departure prevented the other members from joining him.

80—Continued.

had not taken a sufficient interest in the defence of the City, nor promoted the measures for it, and considering the heavy calamity w^{ch} had fallen on the place and on its inhabitants, it was natural that strong feelings would be excited on the spot, and as the place was the Capital of the Nation, every where else also. I added that it would not be easy to satisfy the nation that the event was without blame somewhere, and I could not in candour say, that all that ought to have been done had been done & in proper time.

"He returned to an exculpation of himself, and remarked that he had omitted no preparations or steps whatever for the safety of the place which had been enjoined on him.

"I replied that, as the conversation was a frank one, I could not admit this justification; that it was the duty of the Secretary of War not only to execute plans or orders committed to him, but to devise and propose such as would in his opinion be necessary & proper; that this was an obvious and essential part of his charge, and that in what related to military plans & proceedings elsewhere, he had never been scrupulous or backward in taking this course; that on the contrary he well knew from what on another occasion (see the instructions to him on the 13th day of August, 1814) had passed between us, he had taken a latitude in this respect which I was not satisfied with; that it was due to truth & to myself to say that he had never appeared to enter into a just view either of the danger to the city w^{ch} was to be apprehended, or of the consequences of its falling into the hands of the enemy; that he had never himself proposed or suggested a single precaution or arrangement for its safety, every thing done on that subject having been brought forward by myself, and that the apparent difference of his views on that subject from mine had naturally induced a reduction of my arrangements to the minimum in order to obtrude the less on a reluctant execution. I reminded him also that he had fallen short of the preparations even decided on in the Cabinet, in some respects, particularly in not having arms & equipments brought to convenient depots from distant ones; some of the militia when called on for the defence of the City, being obliged to get arms first at Harpers' ferry.

"I remarked that it was not agreeable thus to speak, nor on an occasion less urgent would it be done; that I had selected him for the office he filled from a respect to his talents, and a confidence that he would exert them for the public good; that I had always treated him with friendliness & confidence, and that as there was but a short distance before me to the end of my public career, my great wish, next to leaving my country in a state of peace & prosperity, was to have preserved harmony and avoid changes, and that I had accordingly, as he well knew, acquiesced in many things to which no other consideration would have reconciled me.

"He said he was very sensible of my friendly conduct towards him, and always had and always should respect me for it.

"The conversation was closed by my referring to the idea of his setting out in the morning on a visit to his family, and observing that he would of course revolve it further, and if he continued to think of it as he then did, he could consider me as opposing no restraint. We parted as usual in a friendly manner. On the next morning he sent me word by Mr. Parker that he should proceed immediately to visit his family, and on his arrival at Baltimore, transmitted his resignation."

September 27, 1814—

* * * "I have rec'd your letter of the 26th resigning your office of Sec'y of the Treasury. The considerations both personal & public which induced my desire that you should become a member of the Ex: family, being undiminished, I can not but deeply regret the event that separates you from it, and more especially the imperious cause which enjoined such an alternative. With my sincerest wishes that your valuable health may be soon & completely re-established, I pray you to accept assurances of my great esteem & friendly respects."

—To G. W. Campbell.

80—Continued.

Washington, October 23, 1814—

* * * "I have rec'd yours of Oct'r — with that enclosed from Warden. Histale is plausibly told but entitled to little confidence. Be assured he is not the man he passed for with all of us originally. His apparent modesty & suavity cover ambition, vanity, avidity (from poverty at least) & intrigue. These traits began to betray themselves before he last left the U. S. On his arrival in Paris with his Office confirmed by the Senate, they rapidly disclosed themselves, and on the death of Barlow, & the scuffle for the charge of our affairs, the mask fell off entirely. He behaved badly to Mrs. Barlow, and having made himself acceptable to the French Gov't thro' his intimacy with subalterns, he seized with its concurrence, the station for which he had as little qualifications as of pretensions. Crawford carried with him our view of W's character, and his experience in Paris has greatly strengthened it. He states circumstances convicting W. of equal imprudence & mendacity. The friends of the latter there consist of the Irish, and persons of rank and science to whom he has paid his court, and passed himself for the favorite of certain individuals here as well as of the Gov't. Crawford is a man of strong intellect & sound integrity, but of a temper not perhaps sufficiently pliant, or manners sufficiently polished for diplomatic life. These however will improve whilst he remains abroad. I cannot believe that his high tone of mind would have permitted him to be jealous of a man whom he must justly regard as so infinitely below him."

November 24, 1814—

* * * "The present Secretary of the Navy being about to retire into private life, my thoughts are turned on you for his successor. But before I make the nomination to the Senate, it will be agreeable to me & proper in every respect, that I sh'd have your sanction to it. Will you be so good as to satisfy me on this point, and as Mr. Jones' affairs will not I find permit him to remain in the Dep't after the 1st of Dec'r, the earliest answer from you is desirable."

—To *Commodore Rodgers*.

Montpellier, July 11, 1816—

* * * "The arrangements of the fisheries is a delicate subject, as it relates to the public sensibility; to its intrinsic merits; & to the peculiar importance attached to it by respectable names. It will be better to do nothing, than to surrender the point of right, or to accept what may be of small value, with an actual privation of the residue formerly enjoyed. I had hoped from the conversation of L'd Castlereagh with Mr Adams, that nothing more would be required of us than a concurrence in regulations which would prevent smuggling & the annoyance of private interests, and which would avoid any necessary implication that the treaty of 1783 was still in force on this subject. The proposition of Mr Bagot is of a very different tenor, it either necessarily implies that the Treaty is not in force, or it sacrifices our rights under it, with respect to the Marine league, & the shores elsewhere, without equivalent, or the shadow of reciprocity. However controvertible the doctrine may be which saves from the effect of the war the stipulations of 1783 in our favor, it is not without countenance from the peculiar character of that Treaty, & can plead the sanction of high authorities on the law of nations to the principle that a war does not repeal engagements between the parties, with which the causes of the war are connected. The Edinburgh Reviewers, if my memory be right, distinctly maintains this principle. We are to keep in view also that our envoys at Ghent carefully excluded from the Treaty of Peace, any admission or implication favorable to the British pretensions, that their country might be left at full liberty to avail itself of its own." [In the handwriting of Mrs. Dolly Madison].

—To *James Monroe*.

80—Continued.

Montpellier, August 30, 1816—

* * * "Mr Dallas seems to have made up his mind to retire early in Oct'r from the Dep't in his hands, and the event may draw after it a vacancy in the War Dep't. Will you permit me to avail our Country of your services in the latter? It will be convenient to know your determination as soon as you have formed it, and it will be particularly gratifying if it assents to my request."

—*To Henry Clay.*

Montpellier, September 7, 1817—

* * * "I sincerely regret the difficulties you experience in continuing 'The Weekly Register.' During the period of my public occupations I was not able to give it more than an occasional and partial reading, and owing, perhaps, to the failure of directions on my part, the numbers of subsequent date have not reached me. I have seen eno' of the work, nevertheless, to be satisfied that both as a repository of papers too valuable to be lost, and otherwise liable to be so, and as a vehicle of original matter breathing a patriotic spirit, and mingling sound principles with judicious views of interesting subjects, it richly merits the public patronage."

—*To Mr. Niles.*

Montpellier, January 10, 1818—

* * * "Altho' it has been my purpose to contract as much as possible my engagements in relation to products both of the Press & the pencil, I shall cheerfully add my name to those which you particularly desire to place on your subscription list, for a print of the 'Declaration of Independence.'"

—*To Colonel Trumbull.*

Montpellier, September 3, 1819—

* * * "We congratulate you much on the various successes of your Western career. The first thing that strikes is the rapidity of your promotions. Bounding over the preliminary sailorship, the first step on the deck of your Bark, pardon me, of the nobler structure, your Ark, makes you a Pilot. The name of Pilot is scarcely pronounced, before you are a Captain, and in less than the twinkling of an eye, the Captain starts up a Commodore. On the land, a scene opens upon us in which you equally figure. We see you at once a ploughman, a rail-splitter, a fence builder, a cornplanter, a Haymaker, and soon to be a Wheat-sower. To all these rural felicities, which leave but a single defect on your title of *Husband-man*, you add the polished pleasures of a Town—you mean a City—life. And to cap the whole, you enjoy the official dignity of Register of the land Office in the important Territory of Illinois."

—*To Edward Coles.*

Montpellier, August 28, 1819—

* * * "In looking over my papers with a view to a better arrangement of them, I find that in the correspondence with General Washington, copies of much of it must have been lost, or were not retained. I flatter myself that I do not take too great a liberty in requesting that I may be enabled to ascertain & fill up the chasm from the originals, understood to be in your hands, as far as they were thought worth preserving by your Uncle."

—*To Judge Washington.*

80—Continued.

Montpellier, December 18, 1819—

* * * "The accidents in Richmond to the papers from Gen'l Washington's files, cannot but excite regret. Should the remains of them not yet have been returned to Mount Vernon, and comprise any within the scope of my request, it may perhaps be convenient for the chief justice, with your sanction, to forward that part of them directly thither."

—*To Judge Washington.*

"JONATHAN BULL AND MARY BULL."

A novelette, written, but not published, at the period of the Missouri question, 1821. 8 pages. Quarto.

NOTE—*An exceedingly humorous and caustic novelette, composed and written by James Madison.*

December 8, 1821—

"I received a few days ago your letter of November 6th on the subject of materials for a Biographical sketch of the celebrated Tecumseh.

"I cannot better answer it, than by referring you to the Dep't of War, the files of which contain the official correspondence and communications from the Military Commanders & Indian Agents, most likely to furnish interesting particulars relating to that chief as well as to his brother the Prophet."

—*To Benjamin Drake.*

Montpellier, January 8, 1822—

* * * "In this account [Ramsay's History of the American Revolution] of the instruction to Mr. Jay to relinquish the navigation of the Mississippi below the Southern boundary of the U. States, the measure would seem to have had its origin with the State of Virginia.

"This was not the case, and the very worthy historian, who was not at that period a member of Congress, was led into his error by the silence of the journals as to what had passed on the subject previous to Feb'y 15, 1781, when they agreed to the instruction to make the relinquishment, as moved by the Delegates of Virginia in pursuance of instructions from the Legislature. It was not unusual with the Secretary of Congress to commence his entries in the Journal, with the stage in which the proceedings assumed a definite character, omitting, or noting on separate & informal sheets, only the preliminary stages.

"The Delegates from Virg'a had been long under instructions [drawn by J. M.] from their State to insist on the right to the navigation of the Mississippi, and Congress had always included it in their ultimatum for peace. As late as the 4th of Oct., 1781 (see the secret Journals of that date) they had renewed their adherence to this point."

—*To Mr. Niles.*

Montpellier, March 26, 1823—

* * * "I have been lately led into a transient correspondence with Professor Everett, of Boston, from some of his enquiries on the subject of our University & the embarrassment of which he speaks as incident to the Sectarian Monopoly of his own. I am not sure that a translation may not be within his speculation. There is nothing however in his letter inconsistent with his declining such a thought. He is unquestionably a man of superior talents, of valuable requirements & is said, as he appears, to be of fine temper & manners. He says he has relinquished & shall never re-enter the Pulpit." [In the handwriting of Mrs. Dolly Madison].

—*To Thomas Jefferson.*

80--Continued.

July, 1823—

* * * "I am giving you more trouble & of a more disagreeable sort than I could wish, but an enquiry into the case of Jackson's app't in May 1814 involves circumstances not to be fully elucidated without a resort which you have kindly permitted.

"The Sec'y of War proposed on the 14th of May in my absence from Washington to make him a Brig'r without a brevet of Maj'r Gen'l, till Hampton's vacancy could be filled by the Senate. I answered on the 17th, send me the Com'n; on the 20th he mentioned nakedly among other things that Harrison had resigned and inclosed one Com'n without alluding to any inclosure. My answer on the 24th shows that I understood it to be for the brevet, as it intimated the omission of the preliminary one of Brig'r. The Sec'y was silent & no other commission sent.

"What then may be the identical com'n of Maj'r Gen'l, sent to J—n by the Sec'y on the 28th of May?

"Was it the com'n inclosed to me, on the 20th, and understood to be for the Brevet, and, if so, was it a blank one or filled up with the Brevet app't? If the former it was used for a purpose contrary to the known intention of the President; if the latter, there must have been an erasure w'ch could only be ascertained by the commission itself in the hands of J—n.

"Could it have been a blank com'n signed & left in the Dep't for ordinary contingencies & inferior grades? This is rendered the more improbable by the apparent necessity of my calling for one to be signed, and by the one actually inclosed to me on the 20th. If any lights can be properly obtained on this point, I should be glad of them. The point itself is more than of mere curiosity."

—*To James Monroe.*

Montpellier, June 30, 1826—

* * * "I rec'd by yesterday's mail yours of the 26th inst. inclosing a copy of the amendment to the Constitution of the U. S. proposed in the Senate, and asking my opinion on the subject.

"It seems to be generally agreed that some change in the mode of electing the Executive Magistrate is desirable, that would produce more uniformity & equality; with a better security for concentrating the major will of the nation, and less risk of an eventual decision in the national Legislature.

"The amendment reported by the Committee of the Senate, is very ably prepared and recommended. But I think there are advantages in the intervention of Electors, and inconvenience in a direct vote by the people, which are not sufficiently adverted to in the Report."

—*To Robert Taylor.*

MADISON'S ABLE DISQUISITION ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Montpellier, April [3 or 4], 1830—

* * * "But there are doctrines espoused (in them) [General Hayne's speeches] from which I am constrained to dissent. I allude particularly to the doctrine which I understand to assert that the States (perhaps their Governments) have, singly, a constitutional right to resist & by force annul within itself, acts of the Government of the U. S. which it deems unauthorized by the Constitution of the U. S. although such acts be not within the extreme cases of oppression, which justly absolve the State from the Constitutional compact to which it is a party.

"It appears to me that in deciding on the character of the Constitution of the U. S. it is not sufficiently kept in view, that being an unprecedented modification of the Powers of Gov't it must not be looked at thro' the refracting medium either of a consolidated Government, or of a confederated Gov't. That

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being essentially different from both, it must be its own interpreter, according to its text and *the facts of the case*.

"Its characteristic peculiarities are, 1, the mode of its formation; 2, its diversion of the supreme powers of Gov't between the States in their united capacity, and the States in their individual capacities.

"It was formed not by the Governments of the States, as the federal Government, superceded by it, was formed; nor by a majority of the people of the U. S. as a single community in the manner of a consolidated Government.

"1. It was formed by the States, that is, by the people of each State acting in their highest sovereign capacity thro' Conventions representing them in that capacity, in like manner and by the same authority as the State Constitutions were formed, with this characteristic & essential difference—that the Constitution of the U. S. being a compact among the States, that is, the people thereof, the parties to the compact, making them even one people for specified objects, cannot be revoked or changed at the will of any State within its limits, as the Constitution of a State may be changed at the will of the State, that is, the people who compose States and are the parties to its constitution. The idea of a compact between the Governors & the Governed was exploded with the Royal doctrine that the Government was held by some tenure independent of the people.

"The Constitution of the U. S. is therefore, within its prescribed sphere, a Constitution in as strict a sense of the term, as are the Constitutions of the individual States, within their respective spheres.

"2. And that it divides the supreme powers of Gov't between the two Governments is seen on the face of it. The powers of war & taxation, that is, of the sword & the purse, of commerce, of treaties, &c., vested in the Gov't of the U. S. being of as high a character as any of the powers reserved to the State Gov'ts.

"If we advert to the Gov't of the U. S. as created by the Constitution it is found also to be a Gov't in as strict a sense of the term, within the sphere of its powers, as the Gov't created by the Constitutions of the States are within their respective spheres. It is, like them, organized into a Legislative, Executive & Judicial Dep'ts. It has, like them, acknowledged cases, in which the powers of those Departments are to operate, and the operation is to be the same in both; that is, *directly* on the persons & things submitted to their power. The concurrent operation in certain cases is one of the features constituting the peculiarity of the system.

"Between these two constitutional Gov'ts, the one operating in all the States, the others operating in each respectively, with the aggregate powers of Gov't divided between them, it could not escape attention, that controversies concerning the boundary of jurisdiction would arise, and that without some adequate provision for deciding them, conflicts of physical force might ensue. A political system that does not provide for a peaceable & authoritative termination of occurring controversies, can be but the name & shadow of a Gov't. The very object and end of a real Gov't being the substitution of law & order for uncertainty, confusion and violence.

"That a final decision of such controversies, if left to each of 13 States, now 24, with prospective increase, would make the Constitution & laws of the U. S. different, in different States, was obvious, and equally obvious that this diversity of independent decisions must disorganize the Government of the Union, and even decompose the Union itself.

"Against such fatal consequences the Constitution undertakes to guard, 1, by declaring that the Constitution & laws of the States in their united capacity shall have effect, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State in its individual capacity notwithstanding, by giving to the Judicial Authority of the U. S. an appellate supremacy in all cases arising under the Constitution & within the course of its functions, arrangements supposed to be justified by the necessity of the case; and by the Agency of the people & Legislatures of the States in electing & appointing the Functionaries of the common Gov't, whilst no corresponding relation existed between the latter and the Functionaries of the State.

"Should these provisions be found, notwithstanding the responsibility of

"the

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the functionaries of the Gov't of the U. S. to the Legislatures & people of the States, not to secure the State Gov't against usurpations of the Gov't of the United States, there remains within the purview of the Constitution an impeachment of the Executive & Judicial Functionaries, in case of their participation in the guilt, the prosecution to depend on the Representatives of the people in one branch, and the trial on the Representatives of the States in the other branch of the Gov't of the U. S.

"The last resort within the purview of the Const'n is the process of amendment provided for by itself and to be executed by the States.

"Whether these provisions taken together be the best that might have been made, and if not, what are the improvements that ought to be introduced, are questions altogether distinct from the object presented by your communication, which relates to the Constitution as it stands." * * *

NOTE.—This able interpretation of the meaning and powers of the Constitution, by James Madison, the leading framer of that invincible masterpiece of statesmanship, is closely worded in his handwriting, on twelve quarto pages, in answer to a letter from General Hayne, who had promulgated the doctrine of a right of secession. We have quoted but four pages: the remaining eight pages abounding with wise disquisitions, in an argumentative way, on all the points of the Constitution that could be attacked by any State that might wish to secede from the Union; also fully portraying the proceedings of the Virginia Legislature, occasioned by the Alien and Sedition Acts. The portion quoted will convey an adequate idea of the importance of the whole.

- 81 **Madison, James. President of the United States.** Copies of Letters to noted persons in the United States and Europe, from 1796 to 1836, mostly in his handwriting and that of Mrs. Dolly Madison, containing in all 667 pieces.
- 82 **Madison, James. President of the United States.** Copies of Letters to noted persons with whom he corresponded, including Memoranda made by him of occurrences and motions made during the Constitutional Convention, in his handwriting and that of Mrs. Dolly Madison. Also the copies of J. C. Payne's Letters referring to the publishing of the "Madison Papers," in all 315 pieces.

Keys to Cipher Letters.

- 83 **Madison, James. The Keys and Ciphers used by him** in writing to, and in reading the letters of, Thomas Jefferson, Edmund Randolph, Edmund Pendleton and others. 16 pieces. Folio and small quarto.

NOTE.—These ciphers were used by Mr. Madison in his letters during the most important period of the American Revolution, and the keys the only means of deciphering the various letters that he wrote during that time to Thomas Jefferson, Edmund Randolph and Edmund Pendleton, as well as deciphering the letters of these gentlemen to him. Many of the letters in this catalogue, both from and to Mr. Madison, are written in cipher, and a few only have been translated; and it will be seen how indispensable the keys are to the purchaser of the letters.

Madison's Toasts, prepared for the Fourth of July, 1798.

- 84 Madison, James. President of the United States. Autograph Memoranda: being the Toasts prepared for the Fourth of July, 1798. Small octavo.

"1. The People.—May every arm be raised against Foreign invaders & every voice against domestic usurpers.

"2. The Union.—May it find an everlasting cement in the Spirit of the Revolution & the sacredness of the Constitution.

"3. The Constitution.—May its authors be its protectors & its disorganizers its victims.

"4. The P. & V. P.—May the former never feel the passions of J. A., nor the latter be forsaken by the philosophy of T. J.

"5. The Senate—May it justify the praise of being 'the Reservoir of Wisdom,' & bely the charge of being the 'Focus of Ambition.'

"6. The House of Re'ps.—May it never grasp an Ex. or Jud'y authority, nor betray its own over the sword or the purse.

"7. The Fed'l Jud'y.—May it remember that it is the Expositor of the laws, not the Trumpeter of politics.

"8. The State Gov'ts.—May their harmony compose the discords of the Fed'l Gov't.

"9. G. W., the Hero of Liberty.—May his enemies have the justice to applaud his virtues, and his friends the candor to acknowledge his errors.

"10. The Freedom of Speech.—May it strike its enemies dumb.

"11. The Freedom of the Press.—The scourge of the guilty & the support of virtuous Government.

"12. The Trial by Jury.—May its violators be pronounced by the verdict of their country aliens to Justice & Traitors to liberty.

"13. Peace.—May free nations who naturally cherish it, never suffer the passions of their Rulers to plunge them into war.

"14. Revolutions without Blood, and Gov't's without Nobles or Kings, to all nations who are not free—The example of the American Revolution & Constitution."

Madison's Letter to Princess Victoria.

- 85 Madison, James. President of the United States. Autograph Letter. Signed. February, 1834. Octavo.

* * * "It being intimated that an autograph specimen from me, as from some others of my countrymen, would be acceptable for a collection which the Princess Victoria is making, these few lines, with my signature, though written in a very advanced age and with Rheumatic fingers, are offered for the occasion. They will be an expression at least, of the respect due to the young Princess, who is understood to be developing, under the wise counsel of her august Parent, the endowments and virtues which give beauty & value to personal character, and are auspicious to the high station to which she is destined."

NOTE.—*Madison's Autograph copy of his letter to Princess Victoria.*

Letters of Edmund Randolph to James Madison, 1787 to 1812, on the Constitution, the Mississippi question, doings of the Virginia Assembly, and on affairs which led to the second war with Great Britain.

NOTE.—*Edmund Randolph was a native of Virginia, and an enthusiastic supporter of the Revolution. After serving in the Continental Congress from 1779 to 1783, as a delegate from Virginia, he was, in 1786, elected Governor of his native State. In 1787 he was chosen a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, but voted against its adoption. In 1789 he was appointed, by Washington, Attorney General. He was a political friend and admirer of Thomas Jefferson, whom he succeeded as Secretary of State, during Washington's second term as President, but resigned in August, 1795, on account of being accused of bribery, and published, shortly afterwards, a pamphlet in vindication of his conduct.*

His letters, herein enumerated, are all to James Madison, many of them being of a confidential nature. His reverence for the superior ability of Mr. Madison is delicately portrayed throughout the correspondence, commencing with the usual timidity, natural to the young statesman addressing one of mature knowledge, but afterwards launching out with greater boldness as he found his views coincided with those of the "Father of the Constitution," and even, towards the end, venturing to advise him whom he had selected as his Mentor.

As they embrace the period from 1787 to 1812, they naturally contain valuable elucidations of the many important affairs of our country during the formation of the Federal Union under the new Constitution—the various modes of raising a revenue; the impressment of American seamen and other causes which led to the second war with Great Britain. He warmly supported Mr. Madison's administration throughout.

From the extracts we have made from many of the letters (and we could hardly refrain from publishing the whole) an insight will be gained of many important and forgotten items of American history.

- 86 Randolph, Edmund. Member of the Continental Congress. Letters of, to James Madison, from May 22, 1787 to July 1, 1812, consisting of 12 Autograph Letters, signed; 35 Autograph Letters, signed with initials; 70 Autograph Letters, unsigned, and 15 copies of Letters, Documents, etc., in all 132 pieces. Folio and quarto.

Richmond, April 11, 1782—

* * * "It is a matter of some wonder, that the minister of France did not visit our governor. Was there any misunderstanding on the score of Etiquette? Or has the suspicion which some people entertain here reached the ears of the Minister that Harrison is an enemy to the French? By accident yesterday the resolution of Congress, recommending the confiscation of British manufactures, came into conversation at the governor's table. It

"seems

86—Continued.

seems to me to be a fit season to ascertain the objection, which had been conceived against it, but an improper one to answer them. Our discourse, however, was too short for the discussion, and was concluded by a general assertion, on the part of Mr. Harrison, that the legislature would not adopt it."

Richmond, May 5, 1782—

* * * "Mr. Jefferson has been forced into the legislative service of the county; and some other counties, impressed by the embarrassment of the time, have elected the most able men, altho' they did not offer themselves."

Pettus's, near Richmond, May 10, 1782—

* * * "Yesterday I received your favor of the 1st instant, and took Dr. Lee by the hand at almost the same moment. His brother, Richard Henry, and himself, being members of the house of delegates, will probably give the tone to the politics of this session. Should Mr. Jefferson persist in his unpardonable rage for retirement, and Mr. Henry delay his attendance (as he possibly may, not being as yet heard of) until the plans of the house are matured, in this event there will be little danger of paper-money, should Mr. R. H. Lee retain his ancient abhorrence of this medium."

Richmond, May 21, 1782—

* * * "Our resolution against British merchandize passed the committee of the whole house without opposition. An attempt was indeed made to except salt, but Mr. R. H. Lee scouted it out, as I was informed; a bill is ordered to be brought in upon it." * * * "The assembly avow themselves staunch to the Alliance. The house of delegates passed adequate resolves, as I hear, against separate negotiation, and have appointed committees to prepare bills for the security of shipwrecked property, and in general for all those objects recommended to them by Congress with respect to the consular convention. Congress too, do not appear unmindful of policy towards the French nation & particularly towards the queen's party, whose force will increase upon the birth of a dauphin."

Richmond, June 15, 1782—

* * * "The act of the legislature, which passed the delegates yesterday, for co-operating with Maryland in the defence of the bay, breaths so much harmony, that something of the virulence respecting western territory ought to be abated on this account. It is resolved to write vigorously in this important object, and that future occasions may not produce regulations of commerce, by which the one may supplant the other, it is recommended that the imposts, &c, of both States shall go hand in hand."

Richmond, June 20, 1782—

* * * "A vote passed the committee of the whole house yesterday, for removing the clog to executions. It is probable, too, that it will run glibly thro' the assembly. I, whose interests speaks so strongly in favor of the act, do really contemplate it with apprehension. Ravaged as our country has been, the little surplus over domestic want, must be drawn into the public coffers. With what are we to pay our old debts? Is the capital to be absolved? Mr. Morris's notes, which are receivable in taxes, will banish specie pro tanto; and if executions are to be satisfied by specie alone, the poor man, who has disdained to avail himself of the tender law, must part from his freehold at $\frac{1}{4}$ of its value, to some tory whose debt remains unextinguished because he obstinately refused paper currency. On the other hand it cannot be denied, that some of our best citizens are perhaps perishing from the want of their outstanding debts. But a general law has its eye to the body of the people, not to individuals merely; especially at a season, when they have been harrassed in property and personal service."

86—Continued.

Virginia, June 27, 1782—

* * * "The Assembly seem disposed to indulge the inhabitants of Kentucky with a separate court. I think the measure is wise, as it may retard the separation, at least until a fitter day. It is enormous to bring criminals from the distance of 400 miles for trial, and to oblige the poor settlers to travel hither for the adjustment of their disputes at the expence, perhaps, of an half of their little capital."

Richmond, June 1, 1782—

* * * "The day before yesterday Mr. Mason, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. A. Lee, myself and Dr. Walker were appointed to state the claims of Virginia to western territory. Our power extends to publication without consulting the assembly, and I presume, that two or three months will produce something. I wish I had leisure to relate to you some management, which the desire of being distinguished by an appointment of this sort has occasioned. Superior beings must surely amuse themselves with contemplating the contests which agitate mankind for trifles, and the meanesses to which those trifles gave birth. I will shortly excite either your ridicule or indignation at some recent manœuvres." * * * "I saw a letter from Mr. Jefferson to Col. Monroe, in which he assigns reasons for refusing his seat in the house of delegates. The pathos of the composition is really great, and the wound, which his spirit received by the late impeachment, is, as he says, to be cured only by the all-healing grave. His triumph might certainly be an illustrious one over his former enemies, were he to resume the legislative character, for in the constant division between the two leaders, Henry & Lee, he might incline the scale to whichever side he would."

Virginia, July 5, 1782—

* * * "The French legion marched from Richmond yesterday morning, at which time the remainder of the army left W'msburg. They have preserved the character of peaceable soldiers, and their absence will be regretted. We must pass by the irregularities of a few individuals, as being inapplicable to the body of the army." * * * "The resolution appointing the committee for the patronage of western territory, have never exchanged a letter on the subject. Mr. G. Mason will enter into the discussion, I am told, if he approve the acts of the present session. Mrs. Jefferson has been so near her flight to a happier station, to suffer her affectionate husband to do more than lament the prospect of a separation (she is now within the reach of medicine). Of Dr. Lee I have not had a syllable since his setting off for Philad'a. Dr. Walker has supplied a few rough materials only. I am pursuing the inquiry, but wait for the movements of my elders in the nomination."

Richmond, August 6, 1782—

* * * "It is difficult to believe that Fox means peace by his alarming speech, a discovery of weakness tending to this object in no manner, unless pity or contempt in the enemy can produce such an effect. I rather think that he is labouring to store up abundant matter for apology. Should the new ministry be at last compelled to the humiliating recognition of American independence, by exhibiting the errors of their predecessors in full length and in heightened colours, at a season, too, when the appeal seems to be about to be made to British patriotism, what can excite it more than certain information that the maritime superiority of G. Britain is gone—irrecoverably so, and to the abolition of their arrogance on the sea—unless bold exertions be put forth?"

86—Continued.

Richmond, August 16, 1782—

* * * "The information, which I have hitherto transmitted to you, concerning the ardor of the British to diffuse their merchandize, has been confirmed by a late example. A flag was sent from hence to New York, and it is believed, nay it is certain, altho' it cannot be proved, that she returned home well stocked with goods. Offences of this sort are not, I fancy, comprehended within any law of our own state, nor of the U. S. But as the seller would fail in his purpose, if buyers were wanting, it may not disgrace the wisdom of Congress to recommend something on this subject. On the contrary, may not the constant repetition of your abhorrence of British manufactures, whenever a fair occasion shall offer itself, support the views which you first had in recommending laws against their introduction?"

Richmond, August 24, 1782—

* * * "He cannot be more than an exploring bird [Mr Granville] sent out to inquire into the pretensions and weak sides of the belligerent parties. If immediate peace were intended, would Fox encourage his enemy by the boldness with which he portrays the distresses of his nation? The notion of Canada as a 14th State is too magnificent for belief, and mars the rest of Mr Blake's account.

"But surely the King of Great Britain means more than to offer us his submission to our independence upon base terms, and upon the rejection of the offer to make a forcible appeal to those who sigh for peace. The fracture of the alliance is certainly the condition. Should France, altho' at the commencement of the war her object was single, have extended her prospects, as she might rightfully do during the various events of it, and demand the cession of territory to herself, Europe and America will resound with invectives against the conversion of her former disinterestedness into an appetite for acquiring the impression of these manœuvres on the minds of the weak, nay perhaps the great."

Richmond, September 20, 1782—

* * * "Mrs. Jefferson has at last shaken off her tormenting pains, by yielding to them, and has left our friend inconsolable. I ever thought him to rank domestic happiness in the first class of the chief good; but scarcely supposed that his grief would be so violent as to justify the circulating report of his swooning away whenever he sees his children."

Richmond, November 2, 1782—

* * * "Dr. Lee came to town the day before yesterday, and by the last post a very scurrilous account of his having left Philad'a for Richmond, followed him, in one of the newspapers. Does the sacred liberty of the press justify such invectives against men in high office? Freedom of writing is designed for the scrutiny of public measures, and even of private character, if connected with them. But what will be said in those countries where the reputation of Congress is synonymous with the reputation of the American cause, when a pasquinade against a member of that body is virulent and uncensored, altho' no reason drawn from his public conduct, is assigned for it? Provision, however, will I suppose, never be made against this mischief, as the State will not of themselves take it up, and Congress must forbear to recommend it thro' delicacy. The newspaper which contains this piece is in great demand here; such is the propensity to scandal."

Richmond, November 5, 1782—

* * * "Col^o R. H. Lee has received a letter from Cleves, dated, as well as I recollect, on the 29th of June; in which the restoration of Arnold to a public appearance at court is announced as one of the productions of the new ministry. From this fact his correspondent infers that the plan of devastation, which had originated from this parricide during the reign of North, and

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would have been executed but for the change in the cabinet, is now revived. Alarmed by this intelligence, Dr. Lee moved for the appointment of a committee to devise a plan of natural defence." * * * "Altho' every month publishes to the world, that Virginia has paid nothing into the treasury of the U. S., I entertain very little hope of the remittance being greater. The taxes, now existing, in the first instance, to be appropriated to other uses, will not I fear leave the balance of a shilling, and the opinion of the leading men in the assembly protest against an increase of them." * * * "Mr. Henry certainly will not attend this session. I have not as yet heard any public observation on the motion of Mr. Williamson, which was seconded by Col^d Bland, in consequence of the acceptance of the session of New York. But it strikes me as being ill-judged, and that you ought to be forever obstinate in your secession. The enemies of our territorial claims are persevering; and by the addition of a little precedent one day, to another little one on another, they would soon be able to throw the opinion of Virginia herself into her own teeth."

Richmond, December 20, 1782—

* * * "Mr. John Mercer is elected as my successor, in opposition to Mr. St. George Tucker. The numbers being 66 and 30." * * * "You will receive two instructions. The one enjoins you to oppose any communication with a British agent or minister, except in conjunction with France, and except independence shall be acknowledged, as a preliminary. The other commands you to labour against the restitution of British property."

"The ardor of the delegates to suppress the importation of British goods is not cooled by the rejection of a former bill to that purpose, by the Senate. Another is ordered to be read a third time to-day."

Richmond, December 27, 1782—

* * * "The attack, which I hinted at in my last as being made upon Mr. L.—[Lee], was pushed with great vigour. Upon the question for his recall, the ayes were 39, and the noes 41. His defence was pathetic. It called upon the assembly to remember his services, to protect his honor, and not to put it out of his power to profit his country by his labours. The failure of some of his enemies to attend alone saved him. Should Henry come to the next session, it seems impossible that he should be again elected."

"Much to the honor of the assembly, they have breathed throughout their whole proceedings a firm and unremitted hatred to Great Britain. Even if this should be the only good of this session, it is a substantial one. They have recommended to the electors of the different counties to send no man to represent them, who from birth, education, or mercantile connection has rendered himself suspicious, a happy declaration against a growing evil. They have passed a law too for giving effect to the former act against British goods. This cuts off all hope of the wicked and designing partizans of G. B. as far as Virginia is concerned." * * * "On the 19th Dec'r you were farther instructed '*not to consent*' to open a communication with any agent or minister from his britannick Majesty upon the subject of a peace, separate from France, nor unless the independence of America be in most ample manner acknowledged as a preliminary thereto."

Richmond, March 1, 1783—

* * * "A dangerous combination has been formed for counterfeiting tobacco notes and Morris's notes. It extends, like the mountains of America, from South to North. We may hope, that this mint, which has already been opened with success, will soon be suppressed by the activity of a zealous Whig, of genuine honesty. The executive have patronized the measures, which he had adopted for a complete detection."

"What renders this scheme of villany more perilous, is that it is probable some of the inspectors have been associated in it, and they, by furnishing marks, weights, numbers and names, can always with truth inform

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86—Continued.

the holders of these counterfeits, that such tobacco is to be found in the Warehouses & yet refuse to deliver the tobacco when the exporter demands it on these bad notes."

Notes of Edmund Randolph—

In the case of the three traitors—James Lamb, Joshua Hopkins and John Caton—who were pardoned by a resolve of the House of Delegates of Virginia. 11 pages.

Pettus's, March 15, 1783—

* * * "There is a report that Mr Morris has actually resigned his superintendency, and the speculations are various on the subject. Some impute the step to weariness under fatigue; others to an excess of private business; while others, whose disposition is not cordial towards him, ascribe it to a more disagreeable motive. For my part, I conjecture that he must have been led to this measure by disgust & want of due support. But even my respect for him will not suffer me to acquit him for resigning at this hour when fresh vigor may be added to the arms of the enemy, by the assurance, that he abandoned the office thro' despair of our finances, and the affections of France herself, or rather her inclination to succour us with reasonable loans, may be diminished, from the apprehension of her aid being misapplied, if thrown into other hands than his."

Richmond, March 22, 1783—

* * * "Your favors by the post and the express reached me at the same time with a letter from Dr Lee, dated on the 11th Dec'r (I presume it should have been March) 1783. Having read his first, I was astonished at this passage—"We are still as we were, and always shall be while Dr Franklin" "presides in Europe, utterly in the dark as to the progress of the negotia." "tions at Paris. I am too well acquainted with the European Cabinets," "not to fear that a continuation of the war, so grievous to us, will be the" "consequence of these protracted negotiations. I wish I may be deceived." The contrast which your eulogium on Franklin presented, was truly grateful to my mind, being a complete antidote to the insinuation of Mr Lee.

"The humiliation of G. B. seems now proportionate to her former arrogance, so lukewarm in the patronage of the tories, as to desert them rather than risque a new campaign, so profuse in her surrender of territory, so satisfactory in her recognition of independence, she must begin to doubt her own identity. But may not the treaty be so worded, as to give Congress a substitution in the place of the King of G. B. with respect to ungranted soil? If so, will not the argument against particular States be stronger than it ever could have been under the confederation only? For I imagine, that the power of Congress to accept territory by treaty will not be denied. This will throw a plausibility against us which never before existed in the contest with Congress."

Richmond, May 15, 1783—

* * * "Religion, which has been hitherto treated with little respect by the Assembly, was yesterday incorporated into their proceedings. Mr Henry moved for a chaplain; and that a prayer should be composed adopted to all persuasions. The prayer has not been reported, tho' several trials, I am told, have been made."

Pettus's, June 28, 1783—

* * * "The friends to the impost, as recommended by Congress, finding that the adoption of that measure in the form of the bill then depending before the delegates, would fix it in a manner averse to continental views, did

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86—Continued.

on Thursday assent to the postponing of it until the next session. It seems now to be the current opinion, that at the next session it will be carried. For my part, I perceive no good ground for such an expectation. The opposition is deep rooted in the hearts of the most persevering & most eloquent.

"The arrival of Gen'l Washington's circular letter excited this hope in the minds of the sanguine, but its effect is momentary, and perhaps it will hereafter be accepted by the assembly with disgust. For the murmur is free and general against what is called the unsolicited intrusion of his advice."

Richmond, January 21, 1784—

The draft of the letter of Edmund Randolph to the Gov. of Virginia, arguing the case—"The demand made by the governor of South Carolina from the executive of Virginia, of the body of George Hancock, a citizen of this Commonwealth, for assault and Batt'y upon one Jonas Beard, 'a justice of the peace, a member of the legislature, &c.'"

Richmond, March 1, 1787—

* * * "The documents to be forwarded to you, as stated in my public letter, will prove the truth of your suspicion, that the exclusion of the Miss'i to Virginia, would throw the western settlers into an immediate state of hostility with Spain. If the subject be canvassed, it will not be sufficient to negative it merely, but a negative with some emphasis can alone secure Mr H—y to the objects of the convention at Philad.

"I have essayed every means to prevail on him to go thither. But he is peremptory in refusing, as being distressed in his private circumstances. Gen'l Washington will be pressed again and again, but I fear ineffectually."

Richmond, April 4, 1787—

* * * "Gen'l Washington is prevailed upon to go to Philad'a if his health will permit. He is at present afflicted with the rheumatism, so as to be unable to move himself in his bed sometimes, and often to raise his hand to his head. He purposes to travel earlier than for the meeting, that he may apologize to the Cincinnati for his refusal of their presidency.

"Mr Jay's report on the treaty will bring the question to a crisis. But will not this add a fresh reason *here* against the reform of the confed'n? I rejoice, for our national honor, that it has been confirmed by Congress, and therefore accept it with readiness, altho' it might have been better to postpone it to the end of the year, if our foreign connections would have permitted."

Richmond, April 4, 1787—

* * * "There is every reason to believe that Gen'l Washington will be present at the convention in May. Indeed he says, that the want of health alone shall prevent him. I trust that the rheumatism with which he is afflicted severely, will be speedily baffled."

Richmond, March 27, 1787—

* * * "I have turned my mind somewhat to the business of May next; but am hourly interrupted. At present I conceive—

"1. That the alterations sh'd be grafted on the old confederation.

"2. That what is best in itself, not merely what can be obtained from the assemblies, be adopted.

"3. That the points of power to be granted be so detached from each other, as to permit a state to reject one part, without mutilating the whole.

"With these objects, ought not some general propositions to be prepared for feeling the pulse of the convention on the subject at large? Ought not an address to accompany the new constitution?"

85.—Continued.

Bowling Green, September 30, 1787—

* * * "Baltimore resounds with friendship for the new constitution, and Mr Chase's election depends, as it is said, upon his opinion concerning it. He waited on me, with an expectation, I suspect, of learning something to foster his opposition. I was prepared, because I had heard of his harangue to the people of Fell's point the night before I saw him. It was represented to me, that after he had finished his speech, Col^o Sam Smith and Mr Zebulon Hollingsworth asked him, whether he espoused the constitution or not? He replied to this effect, 'Here, gentlemen, is a form of government (pulling out the Maryland act) under which we have lived happily for more than ten years. Shall we make a new experiment precipitately? Are we to pay taxes indefinitely, have our militia led from one end of the continent to the other, and be dragooned by a standing army, if we fail in the smallest article of duty?—But—I have not made up my mind.' However in the discourse between us, altho' he discovered a tendency to reject the constitution, unless amended, he declared he would labour to establish a federal Government."

Richmond, December 27, 1787—

* * * "General Wilkinson from Kentucky, who is now here, is not to be appeased in his violence against the constitution, and it is presumed that thro' his means the vote of Kentucky will have the same direction. He is rivitted by Col^o Henry Lee, declaring to him that the surrender of the Mississippi would probably be among the early acts of the Congress."

Richmond, February 29, 1788—

* * * "The decision of Mass'ts, had it been adverse to the const'n, w'd have damned it here. But as it is, it fixes the event, if N. York, N. Hamp. and Maryland should follow the example. This must be understood with this restriction: that altho' 9 states will force Va. by their assent to come in, there is reason to believe that no intelligence of that sort can reach us before our convention meets; as So Carolina will sit on the 12th of May only."

Williamsburg, September 25, 1789—

* * * "The president is supposed to have written to Mr Adams, while titles were in debate, that if any were given, he would resign. Whether it be true or not, it is a popular report. However, I question if even this, added to his services will draw forth from the assembly an address of congratulation. I will endeavor to prevent any pain to him, or imputation on Virginia."

Broadside—

Extract from the Journal of the House of Delegates, on Tuesday the 8th of December, 1789, in reference to the proposed revision of the Constitution of Virginia. Folio. 2 pages.

Philadelphia, November 1, 1795—

* * * "I have forborne to write to you since my resignation, that you might be able to affirm, that in the ground which I shall take in my appeal to the people, you have borne no part. For among the objects, which the President and his party have in view, one is to destroy the republican force in the U. S. A conspiracy, more deeply laid and systematically pursued, has not yet occurred; and in every newspaper from New York and Boston I read hints, bottomed upon that letter, I have no doubt, that the whole scheme will recoil upon their heads. But it has required time to prepare the means. This is now done, and the press is at work. I cannot in the compass of a letter give you details. But every nerve has been strained to combine your name

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in a business, to which you were the most absolute stranger. I mean the insurrection and a general revolution of government. I feel happy at my emancipation from an attachment to a man who has practiced upon me the profound hypocrisy of Tiberius, and the injustice of an assassin. If he does not repent it, it must be because he is invulnerable by even the most pointed facts."

Lexington, Virginia, July 9, 1811—

* * * "Without one feeling left of the character of a partizan, but still living to friendship, a man, whose hand is known to Mr. Madison, asks him, whether he recollects, or ever heard, that after Col^o Hamilton had been severely pressed for a supposed misappropriation of the money devoted by law to special purposes, he, Col^o H, produced a letter authorizing it, signed by President Washington, while on his tour to South Carolina; that the President at first denied its existence in positive and vehement terms, not having preserved a copy of it. but that it was afterwards acknowledged by him, and registered in the treasury department. Ut valeat quantum, valere potest?"

- 87 Coles, Colonel Isaac A. and Edward. Cousins of Mrs. Dolly P. Madison. Letters to James Madison and Mrs. D. P. Madison, from September 4, 1809, to February 1, 1846, comprising 56 Autograph Letters, signed by Edward Coles; 13 Autograph Letters signed by Col. Isaac A. Coles, and 3 copies of Letters, in all, 72 pieces. Quarto.

This series of letters describe many interesting incidents connected with the War of 1812. In them Colonel Isaac A. Coles complains of preference in promotion being formed against him, and tenders his resignation as an officer in the army of the United States. Edward Coles, who was Governor of Illinois, very interestingly describes his western trips; opens up the fraud perpetrated on the United States, in the leasing of the Missouri lead mines; expostulates on the bad and unpatriotic course of certain speculators, for imposing on and buying up the land warrants of the soldiers of the War of 1812; advocates, throughout, the abolition of slavery, and condemns, in a very lengthy letter, the action of Andrew Jackson in removing the deposits from the Bank of the United States, and denounces him for maintaining the principle that "offices are the spoils of victory."

Jonathan Dayton's Anonymous and other Letters to James Madison, from 1808 to 1814.

- 88 Dayton, Jonathan. Signer of the Constitution. Seven Anonymous Letters, folio and quarto, addressed to James Madison, when Secretary of State and President, and 10 Autograph Letters, signed (signature cut off of one), folio and quarto, addressed to President James Madison.

NOTE.—Jonathan Dayton was born at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, 1760; died at the same place in 1824. He was a graduate of Princeton, studied law and was admitted to the bar. Entered the Continental army and in 1776 was appointed paymaster of the regiment of his father, General Elias Dayton. He held several commissions during the war and at Yorktown had command under Lafayette. Was a member of the New Jersey House of Representatives, and its Speaker in 1790; a delegate from his native State to the Constitutional Convention, and in 1791 was elected to Congress by the Federalists, and re-elected for three consecutive terms, being Speaker during two sessions. In 1799 was elected to the Senate from New Jersey.

The first portion of this series of letters was anonymously written by Jonathan Dayton to James Madison, he selecting this mode of communication for the purpose of informing Mr. Madison of a treasonable plot, which was then budding into prominence, for severing the Union and making a separate confederacy of the New England and Northern States, in case of a declaration of war against Great Britain.

He implicated in this plot such men as Dewitt Clinton, Harrison Gray Otis, Colonel Thorndike, Rufus King and other prominent characters from the supposed seceding States, and maintained that many eminent men, then enjoying the patronage of the President in an official manner, were engaged in the same conspiracy. The letters at the time caused immense excitement, so much so, that Congress appointed a Committee of Investigation into the authorship of the letters and the formulators of the alleged conspiracy.

From the postmark (Elizabethtown) and the similarity of the writing to that of Jonathan Dayton, they were attributed to him. He wrote an emphatic denial of being the author, or of having any knowledge whatsoever of the conspiracy; but subsequent events have conclusively proved that he did write them. He was arrested for alleged conspiracy with Aaron Burr, but was never tried. The letters written under his signature, which are herein included, relate principally to the operations of the army during the War of 1812, and display great military ability, as well as a thorough knowledge of the military resources of the United States and Great Britain, and of the general topography of the country which was then the theatre of war.

Anonymous. Post-marked Elizabeth Town, N. J., December 9th, 1808—

“Sir—

“The subject on which I addressed you some time ago anonymously, involved in it some personal, as well as political and national considerations, but the course which the elections have taken in several States, especially in your own, will defeat by a silent operation the secret machinations & intrigues alluded to. That event will now indisputably terminate happily. Another

“project

88—Continued.

project originating from another source, & more alarming in its tendency, has been ripening within a short time. If the present crisis should eventuate in a war against England, an immediate severance of the Union will be attempted. The five Eastern States, under the auspices of M. & C. & R. I., will take the lead, & invite the middle to unite with them in a new confederacy. Such inducements will, it is confidently said, be held out to N. Y. as will bring them at once to join, & then it is calculated that the three next must & will inevitably follow, & Maryland be left as a frontier, happy if she can be admitted to side with, & be protected by, the Northern & stronger confederacy. The three States & four territories on the western waters to be invited & treated with at the mouth of the Mississippi, from the decks of the Navy of the East. Such are the outlines of a project secretly maturing, & as yet confined to a few only in each State north of Virginia. There are men of the highest standing, & first respectability & influence in Society, who are engaged in it, & some indeed who are at this time very near to you, & whom you would no more suspect than your brother. To me this plan has been communicated thro' such a channel, as can leave no doubt of its existence or object; & if it were necessary I could mention to you many names who stand ready for the signal, to appear openly in its behalf, & to exert themselves to execute it. Believing that a war with England under any circumstance, but especially if followed by such consequence, would be the most disastrous event which could befall our country, I have once more taken up the pen to advise you of certain things, which you would probably learn from no other source. My respect & esteem for you is great & my opinion of your discretion still higher—the constant exercise of it will be necessary in the four years of tempest, war & tumult, which are, I seriously fear, to follow.

“QUINTUS.”

Anonymous. To the President of the United States—

“For the President,—in the most perfect confidence.”

“Never were any men more completely confounded, than were a certain description of politicians, to whom I have heretofore alluded, upon the appearance of the Proclamation for restoring the intercourse between the U. States & Territories of Britain.

“The commerce, the honor, & the prosperity of their country were with them, at best, but secondary considerations; whilst their grand object was, a severance of the Union, & the erection of a new Confederacy, to which every other interest was to be made subservient, or to be compelled to yield.

“The change in the temper & politics of the N. England States—occasioned by the self-denying effects of the Embargo, with its restrictions, penalties & privations—was foreseen & confidently calculated upon; but it was known that greater efforts & more skilful management would be necessary to cast the majority in N. York State into the same scale. It was, however, so essential to the success of their grand project, that they determined to strain every nerve to effect it, preparatory to the commencement of their open operations; & they finally hoped, very contrary to what they affected to desire, that in the mean time no event would occur to brighten our prospects, or render our situation less grievous. They were certain that N. Jersey would follow the lead of the States to the Eastward, & would, without hesitation, identify her interests with theirs. They counted upon Pennsylvania & Delaware, the former from policy, & the latter from affection, as sure accessions to the Northern confederacy, & regarding Maryland as necessarily the frontier between the two, they professed to be very indifferent to which she should desire & solicit to be attached. They considered all the States & parts of States connected with the waters that were tributary to the Mississippi, as allies, members or dependencies of that confederacy which should be not only more formidable on the ocean, but connected in close alliance by treaty with a Power, whose superiority in that element was incontestable. There were

“plans

88—Continued.

plans also with respect to the Canadas & the Floridas, which, tho' not perfectly matured, were to be brought in according to circumstances & events, as auxiliaries or component parts of the grand system. If our affairs had taken an opposite direction & had resulted in a war with England, there were many things highly important & interesting to the President, both politically & personally, which I should have felt myself disposed—by feelings of attachment, as well as bound by the highest considerations of duty—to have communicated and disclosed. I promise still to do so, if, contrary to present appearances and hopes, our negotiations with that Power should fail and a rupture should ensue. In this case my name shall be given, and with it such evidences of those machinations as cannot but remove every doubt of their existence. The prospects of an accommodation are so flattering as to render such a communication at the present premature, & at any future time probably unnecessary. Having taken up my pen, with the single object of giving seasonable warning of dangers threatening in a certain quarter, where they are no longer to be dreaded, I shall now lay it down, never to resume it for the same purpose, unless some untoward events, more favorable to their views than the present state of things, should encourage these master-workers, (now dispirited) to recommence their operations.

"Of myself I shall now only say, in addition to what I have before declared, that without being particularly and immediately intrusted by them of late with their secrets, I know them—and that in my disclosures I feel myself perfectly free from the imputation of a violation of faith, or a breach of confidence.

"CYRUS."

Anonymous.—

"The inclosed pamphlet ('A Candid Appeal to the Honest Yeomanry of Essex, Morris & Sussex Counties, in the State of New Jersey, on the Subject of the approaching Presidential and Congressional Election,' October, 1808,) is sent you by a Federalist, who sincerely desires your election to the Chief Magistracy. He has no views to office, for there is none which he would accept. He has nothing to ask for his friends—they, with but few exceptions, differ from him in his choice. His motives in writing to you are purely disinterested, unless indeed his interest is the prosperity of his country, which leads him, under existing circumstances, to prefer you, should stamp them with a different character. With *two* of the *five* Candidates proposed, he has had a more intimate, tho' not longer acquaintance—he knows, & is known by, them all, & he is free to declare that there is no one of the number, whose talents, probity & genuine patriotism, he holds in higher estimation than yours. His opinion of you has been formed, not lightly, not superficially, nor from the report of others, but from a personal & close observation of many years." * * * "This pamphlet is sent you, rather as matter of curiosity, than deserving your serious notice. It is, however, a fact that it was written & printed in the city of New York, & sent out from thence, to the number of many hundreds, to be distributed this week amongst us. Neither the writer or printer is made known, but well understood that the costs are not defrayed by the Federalists alone." * * * "Be assured, Sir, from one who can have no interest in deceiving you, that your most persevering and most dangerous enemies are in your own State & in New York, & among those who profess to be of the same political party. They carry on their negotiations with great zeal & secrecy. Mr. M. would accept the V. P. rather than nothing, & the friends of Mr. C. are willing to help him to that office, if he will contribute by the vote of the Electors of his own State to confer the Presidency on Mr. C.—This *first* proposition was not accepted, but a compromise of an extraordinary nature has since been proposed, & will most probably be adopted—Mr. C. to be President—Mr. M. to be V. Pres't, with an understanding & engagement that the former is to resign or retire from office, at least one year before the expiration of his term, leaving Mr. M. to discharge the duties, & adding thereto that for the next term of four years, Mr. M. shall be held up as Pres't. & Dewitt Clinton as Vice Pres't.

"Overtures also were made to certain *Feds* to give to one of their Candidates, the V. P't, if their Electors would unite for Mr. M. as Pres't, with

"those

88—Continued.

those of Virginia & others, who they say will favor this latter. It has been decidedly declined, unless they would give to the Fed'e candidate the first office, & in consequence of this, the superior offer, as they termed it, of the Clintonians, was communicated under solemn injunctions to those of the Feds, as an inducement to their acceding. It had no effect, and the treaty between Mr. M. & Mr. C. will probably be ratified. The friends of Mr. M. appear, from their language, to be very confident of carrying their Electors against yours, and it is more necessary, therefore, that there should be the greatest vigilance & exertion throughout all the counties of Virginia in your behalf. The Electors, favoring Monroe, could do more, far more, towards defeating you than if they were all of Federal character, and no time, therefore, is to be lost, nor exertion spared.

"The writer entreats you to confine the substance & terms of these several contemplated treaties for office, to your own breast, for reasons relating to him, which cannot but be obvious. They are known to so few, that the disclosure might be traced, but you may regard them as indisputably true, and take your measures accordingly."

NOTE.—*James Madison has written on a slip of paper attached to this letter—"Erroneously attributed to Jonathan Dayton, disavowed by a letter, under his signature, of March 21st, 1812." But, notwithstanding this assertion of Mr. Madison, and denial of Jonathan Dayton, we unhesitatingly declare it to be in Jonathan Dayton's handwriting.*

The pamphlet, referred to in the letter, accompanies it.

Anonymous—

"Your political enemies are taking every possible advantage of our unaccountable disasters at Detroit, to render your Presidency unpopular, & your Cabinet Council odious & contemptible. This is not being done by the *Federalists* alone, but with equal zeal, tho' greater caution, by 'the *Democratic Republicans*.' The great object of the former is to remove the Chief magistracy, not from you only, but from the State of Virginia, whom they pronounce hostile to commerce, & to the growth of the Eastern section of the Union, & to give it to a New Yorker, known to be favorable to both these objects, without regarding the minor features of his political character." * * * "There are also men very near you, in office at the seat of Government, who are in secret conspiracy to supplant you." * * * "Preparations have been making for the forming of a system of operations, & two prominent characters—H. G. Otis & Col^o Thorndike, of Boston—are just arrived in N. York, for the sole purpose of maturing and organizing it." * * * "The blunders committed by Gen'l Hull were of the grossest & most unpardonable kind. If he required more men & provisions for his expedition, twenty days delay would have given them to him, & he should have availed himself of this time to send expresses to Gen'l Dearborn, urging him to have a diversion made in his favor at the other extremity of the lake. He ought never to have crossed to the British side of the river, until prepared to carry fort Malden by assault, if not surrendered on the first summons. By going over & remaining at Sandwich for reinforcements & supplies, he removed from a straight & near line of communication with our posts & settlements, to a circular & more distant one—he enabled the enemy the more easily to intercept them by their water excursions from Fort Malden." * * * "The surrender, which followed this series of blunders, was the most unpardonable of all." * * * "The uncertainty whether the Legislature would eventually declare the war, prevented without doubt the taking of one of the most important preparatory steps for acquiring a superiority on the lakes, which should have been commenced in Jan'y or February, by sending up a corps of artificers to cut & prepare the timber by hewing & sawing for building the vessels in the spring. Green timber would have answered every purpose, for the superiority, once acquired, would never have been lost, & the movements, operations & supplies of our Army would have been rendered easy, cheap and successful by our command of the water. The Indians could have been kept in check, fewer troops

"could

88—Continued.

could have done the business, as detachments would be less necessary & the garrison could not be strengthened from the lower posts." * * * "Be assured, Sir, by one who has himself made such a campaign, that a *winter* campaign in Canada cannot be carried on by such troops as are now collecting for the expedition. All they have to do this year, must be done before the end of October, & ought to be, by the middle of it, after which, if your soldiers are kept in tents, you will loose more than the half of them by sickness." * * * "This communication is made from motives of friendship towards you." * * * "Should the information he gives, be acceptable, & any thing further from him be desired on any subject, an anonymous line to this effect, addressed to Mr. Levi Canning, in Elizabethtown, N. Jersey, will be properly attended to."

NOTE.—*In the handwriting of Jonathan Dayton.*

Anonymous. September 25, 1812—

"The writer of this did not intend to follow up the late communications with any other, until he learned thro' the channel he had pointed out, whether they were acceptable; but considerations, not only personal to yourself, but important to the welfare of our country, have impelled him so far to change his intention. The assembly of the *Notables* (as they are ludicrously called), convened lately in the city of New York, have broken up. The first object of their discussion was to ascertain whether there was any hope of carrying a Federal President. This being unanimously decided in the negative—the next enquiry was, whether under present circumstances it would be advisable to put up a Federal candidate, on whom to expend all the Federal votes. The discussion on this point was a long & animated one. Mr. Rufus King & a few others coming out strongly in support, & Mr. H. G. Otis leading in opposition & carrying with him a large majority. The plan, of course, now is for all those States who can carry Federal electors to reserve themselves as make-weights in the scale of competition between the two great rival Republican competitors. There was neither proposition nor any argument nor hint in relation to a severance of the Union. It would have been unsafe & most impolitic to broach it before the men who were from States south of the Hudson, especially those from Penn'a & Maryland.

"Upon the subject of future operations ag't Canada, the writer will venture to suggest a plan which appears to him by far the most advisable, & which you, Sir, & your Cabinet can estimate at what it is worth. Instead of directing your forces towards Montreal this season, where their success, from various causes will be very doubtful, let their destination be ag't the British posts on lakes Ontario & Erie, & the waters of communication between them. Instead of sending or stationing troops along lake Champlain, remove every soldier from thence beyond one company; leave no stores of any kind at Plattsburgh, or its vicinity, to invite invasion, but barely provide for keeping complete command of that lake. Let a corps of observation, *not of operation* (its numbers depending upon circumstances), be stationed upon the St Lawrence between Ogdensburgh & the outlet of Ontario, & let Gen'l Dearborn's army file off to the left & approach Niagara, dismissing previously, however, such part of his force as may be considered supernumerary for the object, especially those of the militia drafts which may be the worst clothed or armed, or apparently the most reluctant. The forts Érie & George, opposite Niagara & black rock, must inevitably fall to him, & a part of his troops may occupy for the winter, the settlements of the Canadians on the west side.

"In like manner, & at same time, the operations of Gen'l Harrison must be carried with sufficient force & decisive effect ag—— Malden, & desultorily ag't the settle'm'ts & towns of all those Indians whose warriors have taken any part ag't us." * * * "There is reason to fear that in their attempt *even upon Montreal*, this season, they will be defeated. If the writer could seriously think otherwise, or could believe the danger less than he has represented it, he should have been very far from making this suggestion."

NOTE.—*In the handwriting of Jonathan Dayton,*

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Anonymous—

"Letters of congratulation are not the object of the writer, altho' no one more sincerely rejoices at the defeat of our enemies. No one more deeply laments that the military arrangements, movements & disasters of the late summer campaigns, improperly imputed to the Head of the Governm't, had, for a moment shaken the confidence, or alienated the affections of some portions of the community. The means & powers were sufficient, if they had been judiciously employed & directed, & the mass of the people will ere long be convinced of this & return to their former attachment. I must speak plainly and frankly, since your last, addressed to L. C., invite it, *where the public good requires it*. You have very near you, Sir, a most insidious, artful & decided enemy in the Post Master General, who was deeply engaged in the plans for changing the Administration. To no man is the caution of the Roman more applicable—'*Hic niger est, hunc tu Romane caveto.*' Your Commander in Chief, tho' not unfaithful as the former, is miserably incompetent, & if not changed, disaster will be added to disaster—disgrace to disgrace, & discontent, of course, to discontent. The defects of all his plans & systems, if indeed he ever had any, are now plainly perceptible. Only one Reg't of regular troops was wanted for the whole frontier from St. Lawrence to Champlain. The further force required there, by way of feint, should have been made up of militia, for here could not be the brunt of battle, because our unprepared state, & the advanced stage of the season, rendered our advance to Montreal unadvisable & impracticable, which the 'Com'r in Chief & Sec'y of War, above all other men, could & should have foreseen, & acted accordingly. Under such an arrangem't the enemy could never have crossed the line, for there would be no military store to take or destroy, & if they had crossed for purposes of devastation they would have roused & brought ag't them the New England hives, with sharpened stings, who otherwise would be disposed to remain quietly in their cells.

"Two additional regular Reg'ts should have been sent to the vicinity of Niagara, where it was most important that our operations should have been carried on vigorously & successfully, & every British post subdued. This force, under proper direction, would have ensured it, & your troops might then have wintered on that side in safety, & to great advantage.

"Harrison required at least one full Regiment of Regulars more than he had. This would have taken 4 out of 5 of the regular Reg'ts at Plattsburgh, and a part of the 5th Reg't should have been stationed at Oswego, & its vicinity, & the other at or near Sackett's harbour." * * * "The opposers of the Government & of your re-election are (to use a familiar sea phrase) shaken in the wind, perplexed, embarrassed, hesitating & undecided as to their future measures. Uniting only in one great object, that of the change of Presidency, but differing as to almost every other, they begin to discover that they can go together no longer. The steady loyalty of Penns'a defeats entirely one projected plan of endeavouring by means of a convention of deputies from the States North of Maryland, to throw off a connection with the Southern part of the Union, and to form a *compact, & strong one*, of their own. New York would then have been the centre, and the make-weight or arbiter of this new confederacy; but she will not venture to connect herself alone with New England, where her influence would be lost, altho' the Yankees would rather have that State & New Jersey without Penns'a than with it. They have made the most they could of the indiscreet movements & disasters of our armies in the interior, with a view to the Presidential contest." * * * "They speak with great confidence, tho' I cannot learn certainly *on what authority, or upon whose assurance*, that the next year's hostile operations will be so managed and directed as to dishearten, weaken, harass & distress the whole of the Southern States, to render the war most burthensome & unpopular in that quarter. Such an event they regard as likely to aid & promote their views in two very important respects. These suggestions of the writer are certainly not sufficient grounds of conduct, so far as to found upon them preparations for warding off, or properly meeting the threatened dangers, but they may

"produce

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produce further inquiry & greater vigilance in relation to those more vulnerable parts of our Union, which the enemy would delight to invade & lay waste, from special motives of hatred & revenge, more than the general policy of an honorable warfare."

NOTE.—*In the handwriting of Jonathan Dayton. On the bottom of the letter James Madison has written—"Rec'd December 30, 1812."*

Anonymous—

"I took the liberty of writing to you lately on the subject of our affairs, & will now trouble you once more, for my anxiety is extreme. The contemplated plan of raising 20,000 men for one year is a most erroneous one. By the time they are made good soldiers they must be disbanded,—another army enlisted. Your troops would always be raw,—the expenses enormous—the delays incalculable. Besides the double expense & delay, the desertions will be more than double where you raise 20,000 men for one year, & a like number to supply their place for the next year, what they would be if raised at once for two years.

"If the term of enlistment be predicated on the belief that the Canadas, upper and lower, can be taken in the next Summer's campaign, let me assure you, Sir, that there will be the most fatal disappointment. No force you can collect & send there, however great, can so far succeed as to reach & take Quebec by the first year's operations. All you can do (& this is certainly very practicable) will be to take the whole of upper Canada, & all the British fortresses as low down as Montreal. *Here*, your army should pass their winter, having their communications open & free with the lakes Champlain & Ontario & Erie, where there would no longer be an enemy post or vessel, & here, they would be in excellent quarters, preparing for their descent ag't Quebec as early in the spring as the roads would admit, which would be more than a month before any vessels bringing reinforcements or supplies could venture to enter the St Lawrence. As soon as the proper measures should be taken with a competent force for completely investing the town, the most favorable positions between it & the gulph should be taken & fortified for beating back, taking or destroying every ship that should appear in the river. This latter respecting the river force is now mentioned in order to impress the conviction that a larger army will be absolutely necessary, than what might be deemed sufficient on a strict calculation to carry the fortress & town of Quebec, with its garrison alone. If I were to speak in reference to the present state of things, I should say not less than 25,000 nor more than 30,000 men; but you will be able to spare, in order to make up this force, nearly or quite two thirds of the troops which had been employed in taking forts Malden, George, Erie, Amherstburgh, &c, & for the descent of which men with cannon, stores, &c, batteaus may be built at proper points on the lake, as was done for Sir Jeffrey Amherst's army in the old French war, when they descended ag't Montreal." * * * "I cannot conclude without expressing the hope (& praying your pardon for doing so) that the vapouring of Mr Quincey about cabinet influences, electioneering projects & such stuff, will not prevent the appointment (if it were contemplated) of Mr Sec'y M. to the command of the army. His talents of every description are so greatly superior, his promptitude & decision so much greater, & his views so far more enlarged as to admit of no comparison between him & the present commander, & besides all this, the confidence of the Army would be infinitely greater in him, than the other, & most deservedly so. This matter of confidence too is of no small importance at any time, but more than ever essential now, after so many of our Generals have so greatly disappointed the public expectation."

NOTE.—*In the handwriting of Jonathan Dayton.*

Richmond, Virginia, August 5, 1807—

* * * "I have been informed since my arrival in this place that the assent of Government is necessary before I can be admitted to bail, & I flatter myself with the hope that it will freely be granted to me. In almost every feature my case is variant from that of every person standing under a similar accusation. For eighteen months past, I had not been within three hundred miles of the Ohio river, nor one week absent from my family, but have come
"here

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here voluntarily to attend to my tryal in an unfavorable climate & season. My health is so much worse as to have confined me five-sixths of the time since my arrival, to my room & bed—Even this letter I am writing on my pillow from which I am in hourly apprehension of being torn & carried to a prison, where, to remain three weeks, would be ruinous to my constitution. There can certainly be no wish on the part of our Government, to have me treated with unnecessary rigor, calculated only to endanger my existence, & to render my friends, & a loving & beloved family most truly wretched, for it must be evident that all the purposes of justice can be as effectually answered by bailing, as confining, me. Under these impressions I yet flatter myself with the hope of obtaining by *your order, thro' your influence*, the indulgence asked by me in this instance, *in consideration of my wretched health*, if no other. Any thing which I may here say in favor of innocence may possibly be regarded as unseasonable, or improperly addressed to you, but I cannot forbear to declare, that if ever I saw Mr Blennerhasset, or had any communication of any kind with him, or ever was on his island (where I am charged with being & levying war in December last), or ever sent a person there, or if I ever furnished Col^o. Burr, or any one associated with him, with a shilling of money, or boats, or provisions, or supplies of any kind, or engaged or employed any person in any expedition or project of his, or made a single movement of any sort to aid it, then I am willing to be condemned without relief or mercy." * * * "Upon another matter, Sir, connected more immediately with my defense, I am compelled, tho' very reluctantly indeed, to trouble you. It is to request a certified copy of the original communication made by Gen^l Wilkinson to the President or the Government, of a letter or letters stated by him to have been received in cypher wholly or in part, & then or since ascribed to me. It is of consequence that I should have the exact date & terms of his communication, so far as it has the least reference to any such letter or letters—also the words of the decyphered letters as he then gave them, & whether in the first communication, or at any time since & *when* he named me, or any other person, as the author."

—From Jonathan Dayton.

Elizabethtown, N. J., March 25, 1812—

* * * "I received yesterday by mail a letter without signature, which from its general & particular character, its tenour, & its allusions, must be presumed to have come from the President of the United States. The letters therein alluded to, & stated to have been addressed to the Secretary of State, & to the President successively in 1808 & 1809, were never sent by me. It would seem, however, that they have been imputed to me in consequence of the apparent similitude of hands. These, Sir, are not the only instances in which my handwriting has been imitated for the worst purpose by ill designing men, or mistaken by the best intentioned. I possess no knowledge of the facts therein suggested, viz, 'a projected severance of the Union, which was to' "be undertaken in case of a rupture with G. B., under the management of" "men of high standing, &c.' Nor do I know of any association of men for such an object, nor the name of even a single individual of this description, excepting such only as the public prints disclose to us.

"I should regard this anonymous communication as of sufficient importance to take me, even in this most unpleasant season, to Washington, in order to sec & examine those letters, and then to discover some clue which might lead to the discovery of their real source, & the detection of their fabrication, if it were not for a most distressing complaint, the Hemorrhoids, attended with external tumours, which utterly disqualify me from undertaking any journey."

—From Jonathan Dayton.

Elizabethtown, N. J., March 29, 1813—

* * * "When I retired from public life in the year 1806, after five-&-twenty years service in the Armies & Councils of my country, I had taken a resolution never again to accept an employment or office of any kind which should draw me from my domestic retirement. It was not indeed then foreseen, that the integrity of our happy Union would be so soon threatened & jeopardized,

"the

the prosperity & harmony of the confederated States intercepted, and that perils from internal foes would beset us on every side, more dangerous even than those which our external enemies, with their utmost efforts, could array against us. The once favourite children of our great national family seem to be conspiring for its separation, disunion & consequent destruction." * * * "Under these impressions, as a sacred point of duty, and from no selfish or ambitious motive, I am now acting & have thus taken the liberty, Sir, directly to address you. There are some (& as I yet hope, many) of those who were distinguished as Federalists—some, too, of those few survivors—who were the proud followers of Washington during his military career of glory—who, far from abandoning *you* at this crisis, will arouse at your call, and array themselves again in armour on the side, & in support of their country's Chief, & of their country, to oppose with equal zeal & hostility, those traitors & ingrates who internally plot to dis sever the Union, & those external foes, who openly & with less guilt aim to destroy our sovereignty & independence.

"It cannot give offense to you, Sir, to have one of this description now offer himself at the very moment *when the country is considered to be in danger*. Happy indeed would it be if all, of every description, who are yet able to fight the battles & defend the just cause of their country, would imitate the example."

—From Jonathan Dayton.

Elizabethtown, April 9, 1813—

* * * "There is reason to apprehend that, without some sufficient precautionary measures on your part, a bold attempt may possibly be made to sieze your person & papers, & convey you to the fleet below. This apprehension arises not solely from the position & disposition of the enemy in the bay, their strength and means (altho' this of itself would warrant it), but from intimations unguardedly made at an Anglo-American table in New York, by some Englishmen, whose wishes doubtless go to the full extent of their intimations."

The letter after describing various modes that might be employed for the capture of the President, also offers several suggestions how to prepare against such an event.

—From Jonathan Dayton.

Elizabethtown, N. J., April 10, 1813—

* * * "I have been honoured with the receipt of your esteemed favour of the 5th inst. Entertaining no anxious desire of abandoning my domestic ease, & entering again upon the fatigues, risks & privations ever attendant upon military service, I feel neither dissatisfaction nor disappointment that the proffer made by me, tho' favorably received, & flatteringly acknowledged, could not consistently be accepted. It was the result of an impulse of duty much rather than an inclination, & therefore, without looking for, or desiring any post, office or emolument, of which I can now no longer henceforth be suspected, if, during this highly interesting period of our affairs, I can be in any respect useful, I shall feel most happy to be so."

—From Jonathan Dayton.

NOTE—Signature cut off.

Elizabethtown, N. J., April 30, and May 26, 1813—

A long and interesting letter giving (with the permission of President Madison) advice, in regards to how the campaign should be conducted against the British.

—From Jonathan Dayton.

Elizabethtown, N. J., July 14, 1813—

* * * "That which I had foreseen & foretold in my former letter respecting our loss of the command of the lake, has too truly happened, but all the consequences of it are, I fear, not yet realized.

"The position of our Army at Fort George & Newark is thereby rendered extremely critical. Its retreat will be rendered impracticable, if the British, exercising their usual military skill, should send a detachment of 4

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or 500 men to land at four mill creek about 2 & $\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Niagara, & carry this fort by assault, which they can easily do from its rear & on the land side, where it is very weak. They will then, by means of our own Guns, command Fort George, Newark, our whole encampment, & the passage to the river." * * * "I pray you, Sir, to find in my zeal for the public service, a full apology for the freedom which I thus use. If I distrusted less than I do the judgment of Gen'l D., I should entertain much less alarm & anxiety. If his place were occupied by any one of *four men who I could name*, if I dare without fearing to subject myself to the charge of too great presumption, I should feel very easy as to the result of our military operations in that quarter; & not myself alone, but, I believe, the great body of the people would participate with me in such confidence."

—From Jonathan Dayton.

Elizabethtown, August 4, 1813—

* * * "My opinion has been, from the very commencement of their [the British] ascent of the Potomac, that they were committing a great error, with a view to the possession of Washington. Besides a number of disadvantages attending a direct movement up the river, there is a very important one, viz: that it tends to *decide, at once, & certainly*, the point at which they aim, & the real object of their expedition. This is surely a very great error. Wherever it can be avoided, as in this case, it might well be. Permit me, Sir, to state in what manner, not from a vain desire to exhibit my military skill or discernment, but from an apprehension that as it would be their best plan of operations, so it might prove to be the true one eventually adopted, and ought to be most particularly guarded against. To advance with a considerable part of their ships of war so as to threaten at the same time both Baltimore & Annapolis; to land at or near the small river, called South river, about 4000 troops, to proceed by a forced march, thro' Louden and Bladensburg, to Washington. Commencing their march at sunset of one day, they may reach the city before night of the following day, encountering little or no opposition, for the Militia will generally be kept in a state of suspense & alarm for the points & places, to which they are more particularly attached, especially Baltimore & Annapolis, which will be constantly threatened, if not bombarded." * * *

—From Jonathan Dayton.

Elizabethtown, N. J., September 6, 1814—

* * * "Assured that any suggestions tending to promote the public good will not be unacceptable, I venture, at this crisis, to offer some.

"There can exist little doubt of there having been sufficient force on our side to have prevented the enemy from reaching Washington, or to have defeated & destroyed the greater part of those who did reach it.

"The true use of the two different descriptions of the militia was not understood by the Gen'l in command. Such of them as were hastily assembled, & without discipline, should never be brought into Brigade, and held to fight regularly in the line. This should be done only by the Regular Regiments & by the disciplined Uniform & Volunteer corps. These may be manœuvred by columns, & when displayed for battle, will shew a firmness, confidence & courage, which the mass of undisciplined Militia cannot do. But even these latter may nevertheless be made formidable to a regular moving army, if they are rightly organized & employed. They should be ordered to act by detachments, never exceeding a Regiment (or better by Battalions), to annoy & harass, at every step, the front, flanks & rear of the advancing or retreating enemy, chusing for themselves the most advantageous places for their desultory & often-repeated attacks, such as woods, streams, hills, ravines, morasses, &c.

"In this way, one Battalion, fighting by Companies, often retreating but as often & easily rallying & taking new positions, will do more execution by far, than a whole Brigade collected & drawn up to act regularly in line." * * *

And so, this long and interesting letter goes on, commenting and severely criticising the action of the War Department, and the officers in command during the engagement with the enemy before they captured Washington.

—From Jonathan Dayton.

General Armstrong's Letters to James Madison, as Minister to France, as General in the Army in the War of 1812, and as Secretary of War.

- 89 Armstrong, John. Member of the Old Congress. Letters to James Madison, from July 2, 1804, to September 4, 1814, containing 57 Autograph Letters, signed; 1 Autograph Letter, unsigned; 2 Autograph Letters, with signatures cut off; 3 Letters, signed, and 22 copies of Letters, Documents, etc., in all 85 pieces. Folio and quarto.

NOTE.—John Armstrong was born in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, November 25th, 1755; and served with distinction as an officer in the Revolutionary War. He was the author of the celebrated "Newburgh Letters," written for the purpose of obtaining redress for the grievances sustained by his brother officers. He was chosen a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1778 and 1787, from Pennsylvania, was made Secretary of State, and Adjutant-General of the State, and to him was intrusted the direction of the last Pennsylvania war against the Connecticut settlers of Wyoming. He was a United States Senator from 1800 to 1804. Was also appointed Minister to France in 1804, and Commissioner Plenipotentiary to Spain. In 1812 he was appointed Brigadier-General; and was afterwards (1813) selected by James Madison to fill the position of Secretary of War, the appointment of which he accepted. The invasion and capture of Washington by the British, in 1814, caused a rupture between him and the President, which ultimately terminated in his resignation, September 4th, 1814. He died April 1st, 1843.

These letters (with the exception of two) began while in his capacity as Minister to France, and embrace the period from May 4th, 1806, to September 4th, 1814. In them he fully elucidates the ideas of the French Court in reference to the Embargo Act; the sale of the Floridas; complains of the unfaithfulness of Mr. Erving and Mr. Boudoin, for imparting private information to Spain in reference to the Floridas, which Napoleon had made him the repository of; also condemns the insolence and arrogance of Great Britain in regards to our commerce, and recommends a more emphatic and threatening course in our dealings with the French Court, which caused Napoleon to revoke his decree in reference to the seizure and confiscation of all American vessels in French ports. He criticises fully the French Tarriff Act of July 5th, 1810, and incloses a printed copy of the said act. Recommends the appointment of Winfield Scott, as Brigadier-General, and Andrew Jackson as Brevet Major-General. Fully portrays the doings and movements of the American Army in the second war with Great Britain, during the time he commanded the same, as well as during his fulfillment of the position of Secretary of War. Writes a long and interesting letter accusing Warden as being an impostor and a fraud of the worst character, and concludes this letter by resigning the Secretaryship of War.

Washington, July 15, 1804—

* * * "The public papers have already announced the death of Gen. Hamilton, from a wound received in a duel with Mr. Burr. The cause of the quarrel was some disrespectful expression with regard to the latter, made by Mr. Hamilton during the last winter at Albany. It is no doubt true, that these gentlemen

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gentlemen were in the habit of thinking and speaking very freely of each other, and it is perhaps only to be wondered at that their ill-will had not taken its last form some years past. The public sympathy is a good deal excited for Hamilton and his family. Whether this is spontaneous or artificial I do not know, but it probably partakes of both characters. The corporation of the city took the direction and assumed the expense of his funeral, and the English interest talk of erecting a statue to his memory."

Paris, May 4, 1806—

* * * "It is painful to me to state the following facts, but it is necessary they should be stated.

* "On the 1st instant I presented a note in conformity to the instructions contained in your letter of the 13th of March. On the 2d the subject was opened by his Majesty the Emperor. 'I have,' said he, 'some papers in relation to that business which you have not seen.' On the third these papers were given to the Minister who found them to consist of Maps and Charts of the Floridas, many arguments to show the importance of these provinces to his Catholic Majesty as military and naval stations, and a declaration that on no account would he consent to divest himself of them, either by sale or otherwise.

"On receiving this information my first belief was that the Minister had himself found means to make the difficulty in the hope of soon finding reasons sufficiently substantial for setting it aside. I therefore answered, that it was with much surprise I heard an objection of this sort on the part of Spain, and the more so as she had so recently offered the Floridas as a kind of small change in adjusting an account with an Individual." * * *

"This may be,' was the reply, 'but it is not the less true that certain circumstances have produced an entire change in the dispositions of Spain. France has been represented as usurping over her entire sovereignty, and even as putting her provinces to sale without her knowledge or consent. Do you know that even your own agents have not merely insinuated, but asserted this? Do you know that Mr. Ewing has communicated to the Prince of Peace the confidential propositions of which you were made the depository last summer, and that they were derived from Mr. Bowdoin (as it would appear) for the express purpose of being so communicated?"

"You may readily imagine my confusion and astonishment at this discovery. I had confided the propositions to Mr. Bowdoin, under the most solemn injunctions of secrecy. 'Whatever,' I said, 'may be your own opinion of them, remember that they are not for either you or myself to adopt or reject; they are now before authorities which are alone competent to do either, something useful may grow out of them, and as I have received them under the most solemn injunctions of secrecy, you must receive them from me under the same injunctions.' Could I believe that a man to whom his country had committed so high an office, could so flagrantly violate a trust so sacred? If this is not a sufficient apology, I have none."

Paris, August 30, 1808—

* * * "We have somewhat over-rated our means of coercing the two great belligerents to a course of justice. The embargo is a measure calculated, above any other, to keep us whole and keep us in peace; but beyond this you must not count upon it. Here it is not felt, and in England (in the midst of the more recent & interesting events of the day) it is forgotten. By the way—the Emperor would prefer to it, a war on our part with G. B., but would prefer it to any state of things, except that of war. I have had this last preference in my eye in my last note to the Prince of Benevent. I have, therefore, endeavored to shew (what indeed I hope will be the fact) that unless France shall do us justice, we will raise the embargo, and make, in its stead, the experiment of an *armed Commerce*. Should she adhere to

"her

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her wicked & foolish measures, we ought not to content ourselves with doing this. There is much, very much, besides, that we can do, and we ought not to omit doing all we can, because (among other reasons) it is believed here that we cannot do much, and even that we will not do what we have the power of doing. For God's sake, let your measures be such as will correct this erroneous estimate both of your power and your spirit. I write thus freely from no impulse but that of a love of my country, and attachment to the administration that governs it."

Paris, June 6, 1809—

* * * "The Journal of yesterday gave us your proclamation announcing an arrangement with the British Minister, at Washington. Those of to-day give us Mr. Canning's disavowal of that Minister's conduct, and would make us believe that Mr. Erskine had gone in the very face of his instructions. There is nothing astonishing in all this. It is a true specimen of modern diplomacy. New hopes from Austria, from Spain, and from Massachusetts, have produced new views. The system must be accommodated to these, and instead of a real and unqualified revocation of the obnoxious orders, a substitute is to be found, which, as Lord Liverpool declared in Parliament, should yield nothing of the principles of its predecessor, and possess more both of strength and activity." * * * "To what does it amount? Simply this—that if you will give up the whole of your policy with regard to G. B., she will give up a part of hers, with regard to you; if you will throw open to her the benefit of your markets, and permit her to shut against you those of France, Holland and Italy, she will permit you to trade with certain specified countries, without demanding from you either tax or tribute. If such be the substance of her propositions, they are without a parallel for insolence—nor are they more insolent than deceptive, for the moment you make this agreement you will find yourselves shut out of Denmark, Sweeden and Russia,—Lower Italy and Germany. What then will remain of this promised trade? That to Spain and Portugal; and can it be doubted but that these countries will share the fate of Austria—that if she falls, they fall?" * * * "I offer these facts as illustrations of the opinions I have given you above, and as proofs that the Continent will not assent to the B. doctrine of blockade under any form. Are we, then, prepared to subscribe to it? We are told that Mr. P. has got all he asked, excepting that Holland will have three months exemption from blockade, instead of one without limitation of time. But what would have been the effect of our exemptions in the latter form? Will France allow your trade with Holland, while her own ports are shut up by a British proclamation? Or does Mr. P. believe that Holland is a free agent & can do as she pleases? And what will be the effect of the actual exemption? To ensnare your vessels into rupture & confiscation, and your country into a war with France exclusively. That this could not have been Mr. P's view, I hope and believe, but that it is that of Mr. Canning I have no doubt—and one more hostile to us cannot be imagined." * * * "I cannot close this letter without informing you, that having been caught in the storm, I will see it out; but that, let it terminate in sunshine or hurricane, I hope that you will equally authorize my return to the U. S.—and that, in the latter case, the means of doing so may be furnished to me."

Amsterdam, August, 20, 1809—

* * * "I set out to-morrow for Paris. When I get there, my object will be to obtain a private audience of the Emperor. This course has been suggested by a Minister, much in his confidence, who, the night before I left Paris, called upon me to urge an experiment of it, and offered his services to bring it about. As, however, the motion must come from the Emperor, and as he is not always disposed to grant such indulgence, we must wait his own convictions of its usefulness. The demand of my passports is the circumstance most likely to produce the effect, and this I shall try. With the most sincere wishes for the general success of your administration." * * *

89—Continued.

Paris, September 18, 1809—

* * * "If my standing here had not been personally good, the publications of the last spring, entitled *Suppressed Documents*, &c, would have done much mischief. Many copies of them were sent to the foreign department, accompanied by proofs of genuineness, derived, as was said, from the silence of Government, both with regard to the publication itself & the compiler of it. The storm has, however, blown over, and without doing any positive harm, public or private, but still leaving before it a disposition to mark more attentively than hitherto, any similar circumstance. This will suggest the propriety of recalling the documents submitted to Congress before copies of them can be made; or, what might be still safer, the giving only of extracts from them. I have no fear that anything I have said, or shall say, can be disproved, but Lord Mansfield's doctrine of libel is not only the doctrine of an English Tory, but of all princes and potentates who claim under the tenure of divine rights, and who have unlimited power to punish offenses against it." * * *

Paris, March 18, 1810—

* * * "If report says true (for I know nothing of it officially) you will soon have a new Minister from this country. This is a Cadet, who is for the first time put on horseback. He is the son-in-law of your old acquaintance, Lafoust, and the son of the Count de Monstier, whom we knew as a Minister from Louis 16th, at New York. They, who know him, say he is a chip of the old block, which is not saying much for his discretion. What seems to confirm this suspicion is, that he has quarrelled with all the Ministers he has been with, and is not now on speaking terms with his father and mother-in-law." * * *

Paris, May 6, 1810—

* * * "I have just been informed that M. Bowdoin (before he left Paris) in conjunction with M. Skipwith, & by means which I shall take care to investigate, did obtain from an Irish ex-priest, of the name of Somers, a deposition in which an attempt is made to implicate me in a land speculation, connected with the then intended purchase of the Floridas, and conducted by Messrs. Parker, O'Mealy and Le Ray de Chacemont. This deposition was multiplied by several copies, one of which was inscribed on the Consular Register of this place, which, by the way, forms the true reason why that Register has been so unwarrantably withheld by Skipwith and Barnett. Another of these copies was, as I understand, sent to you, when Secretary of State, to be presented to the President. It is this last circumstance that gives me a right to trouble you with anything on this subject, and, in particular, to request that a copy of this deposition, if in the office, or otherwise within your reach, may be forwarded to me. I venture to say in advance, that I will cover with infamy the fabricators of this calumny. They are assassins, and deserve no pity." * * *

Paris, May 25, 1810—

* * * "The Imperial decree of the 23rd of March sufficiently indicates its own cause, though, from the personal explanations given to me, it would appear to have been less the result of the law itself, than of its non-execution, which was construed, and with some plausibility into a partiality for English commerce. 'My wishes and interests,' said the Emperor the other day, 'both' "lead to a free & a friendly connexion with the U. S.; but I cannot see with" "indifference, on the part of this power, measures which expressly favor" "the trade of my enemy. Such is their non-intercourse law, which if faithfully executed, would not be equal in its operations, but which, so far" "from being thus executed, has been violated openly, and with impunity," "from its date to the present day; and, certainly, much to my prejudice and" "greatly to the advantage of British commerce.' The error in this reasoning is not going farther back for premises." * * *

89--Continued.

New York, March 3, 1811—

* * * "The first paragraph of your letter of the 24th ult., on the subject of Warden's character & conduct, makes it a duty on my part to speak fully and freely to you with regard to this adventurer. He is an impostor in every thing, and as deficient in capacity as he is in fidelity. He has not written a single page of those memoirs, which have been so ostentatiously published as his, and on which is founded whatever degree of reputation may be imputed to him, for zeal—for industry, and for talent. They are by his own acknowledgement, & without exception, the productions of French lawyers, & particularly of a Mr. Darchey, an indigent man of letters & of law, to whom Warden gave *five louis* for each memoir." * * * After reviewing the bringing to light of the corruption of Mr. Warden while in office, he says: "I have written thus far in the frankness which has characterized all my intercourse with you, public and private, and which I cannot lay aside without remarking, that if Mr. Warden be re-instated you pass an indirect censure on my conduct in removing him, and, of course, impose upon me the necessity of shewing the grounds on which I acted." * * *

New York, August 3, 1812—

* * * "I arrived here on Friday last and have this day taken the command. Gen. Bloomfield left us this morning. He has been both frank and friendly, & I should do wrong were I not to make this acknowledgment, as well to you as to him." * * *

New York, January 17, 1813—

"I have this moment had the honor of receiving your letter of the 14th instant and the commission it enclosed.

"Accept, Sir, my thanks for this new mark of your confidence, & my assurances that no personal consideration shall delay my journey southward a single moment. I do believe however that an interview with Gen'l Dearborn, preliminary to my entering on the duties of the War Department, would be so useful, if not indispensable to a prompt & regular discharge of these, that I shall set out this evening or to-morrow morning for Albany."

Sackett's Harbor, September 21, 1813—

* * * "Gen Dearborn's Aid-de-camp is now here & will perhaps explain the General's wishes. To ask a court of inquiry, where no imputation has been made by any agent of the Gov't or officer of the army, is unreasonable. Were the removal of an officer from one mil. command to another, sufficient cause for a court of Inquiry, we should have much (& very useless) occupation, besides that of combating the enemy. We must be cautious, therefore, of making a precedent."

Albany, November 14, 1813—

* * * "Harrison has found his old enemy (Proctor) in a new position, at the head of Burlington bay, and is preparing to attack him. The Gen. cannot be charged with underrating the force of his enemy. He makes it to amount to 2000 men. It may be half that number, including militia and Indians." * * *

Albany, November 25, 1813—

* * * "The progress of the campaign, tho' less favorable than was expected in its general issue, has been filled with incidents highly honorable to the American arms. The attacks of the enemy on Crany Island, on Fort Meigs, on Sackett's Harbor and on Sandusky, have been vigorously & successfully

"repulsed

89—Continued.

repulsed. Nor have they in any case succeeded on either frontier, excepting when directed against the peaceable dwellings of individuals or villages wholly unprepared or undefended.

"On the other hand, the movements of the American army have been followed by the reduction of York, and of Forts George, Erie and Malden; by the recovery of Detroit and the extinction of the Indian War in the West & the occupancy or command of a large portion of Upper Canada; Battles have also been fought on the borders of the St. Lawrence, which, though not accomplishing their special objects, reflect the highest honor on the discipline and prowess of our soldiery, and offer to us the best assurance of eventual victory." * * *

War Department, February 19, 1814—

"I have the honor respectfully to propose for your approbation the following appointments in the Army of the United States:

Daniel Bissell, Colonel of the 5th Infantry, to be Brigadier-General.

Edmund P. Gaines, Colonel of the 25th Infantry, to be Brigadier-General, &

Winfield Scott, Colonel of the 2nd Artillery, to be Brigadier-General.

War Department, May 9, 1814—

"I have the honor to inclose copies of a correspondence between Major Gen'l Izard and General Wilkinson on the subject of the Court Martial recently instituted for the trial of the latter; the result of this is, that General Wilkinson declines being tried by a court of the smallest legal number, unless wholly composed of *General* officers, & that the court, not being so composed, was dissolved."

War Department, May 14, 1814—

* * * "Something ought to be done for Gen. Jackson. The vacant Major-General's place cannot be filled during the recess of the Senate, but we can make him a Brig., and give him the brevet of Major-General and send him to relieve Flournoy, who is very impatient in his present position. We can give Jackson 4 Regts. of inf'ty, the 2d, 3d, 7th, & 39th, with them; he will keep every thing quiet at N. Orleans, and very soon relieve us from the reproach of the injury resulting from the piratical establishment at Barsele-ria." * * *

War Department, June 4, 1814—

"I have the honor to transmit herewith, in obedience to your orders of yesterday, a General Report of the Army of the U. S., its strength and distribution, an estimate of the Regular force of the enemy in the two Canadas, the posts occupied by this, and the reinforcements from Europe, destined thereto, and to the Atlantic frontier of the U. S."

NOTE—*This letter is accompanied with the Reports mentioned.*

Baltimore, September 4, 1814—

* * * "I have given to the late occurrences at Washington, in relation to myself, all the consideration due to them, as well on public as private grounds, and have determined to resign my appointment as Secretary of the War Department. This I hereby do and pray you to accept with it, the assurance of my great respect & consideration."

James Madison's Autograph Copy of the Debates in the Federal Convention.

- 90 Madison, James. His Autograph Copy of the Debates of the Constitutional Convention, from Monday, May 14, to Friday, September 14, 1787. Folio. 108 pages.

Mr. Madison's heading reads:—"Copies from the original by James Madison, Jr., N. York, Sep. & Oct., 1787. In Federal Convention." It is deficient only in containing the transactions of the last two days Saturday, the 15, and Monday the 17 of September. This omission also occurs in the journal of the Convention deposited with the Government by General Washington.

James Madison's Commission as Secretary of State.

- 91 Madison, James. The Commission appointing him Secretary of State, under Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, dated Washington, March 5, 1801; signed by Thomas Jefferson, as President, and Levi Lincoln, as acting Secretary of State. Folio. Parchment.

This commission is the more interesting, as Thomas Jefferson, undoubtedly as a compliment, wrote the whole commission himself.

- 92 Jefferson, Thomas. Autograph "Amendments to the Constitution, to be added to Art. IV., section 3," referring to the incorporation of the Province of Louisiana with the United States. Folio.

- 93 Jefferson, Thomas. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 4 pages. Baltimore, February 15, 1783. To Edmund Randolph.

After referring to his delay in starting for France, and complimenting Mr. Randolph on his intention of qualifying himself for a seat in the Legislature, and commenting on the Vermont dispute, he says: "I find also the pride of independence taking deep & dangerous hold in the hearts of individual States. I know no danger so dreadful & so probable as that of internal contests; and I know no remedy so likely to prevent it as the strengthening the band which connects us. While subject to Gr Britain she preserved peace among us; we have substituted a congress of deputies from every State to perform this last; but we have done nothing which could enable them to enforce their decisions. What will be the case? They will not be enforced; the States will go to war with each other in defiance of Congress; one will call in France to her assistance, another Gr. Britain, and so we shall have all the wars of Europe brought to our own doors. Can any man be so puffed up with his little portion of sovereignty as to prefer this calamitous accompaniment to the parting with a little of his sovereign right and placing it in a council from all the

"States

States, who being chosen by himself annually, removable at will, subject in a private capacity to every act of power he does in a public one, cannot possibly do him an injury, or if he does will be subject to be overhauled for it? It is very important to unlearn the lessons we have learnt under our former government; to discard the maxims which were the bulwark of that, but would be the ruin of the one we have erected. I feel great comfort on the prospect of getting yourself & two or three others into the legislature. My humble & earnest prayer to Almighty God will be that you may bring into fashion principles suited to the form of government we have adopted, & not of that we have rejected. That you will first lay your shoulders to the strengthening the band of our confederacy & averting those cruel evils to which its present weakness will expose us, & that you will see the necessity of doing this instantly before we forget the advantages of union, or acquire a degree of ill-temper against each other, which will daily increase the obstacles to that good work." * * *

- 94 Jefferson, Thomas. Autograph Letter (signature torn off). Folio. Washington, March 12, 1801. To James Madison.

After mentioning various appointments in his cabinet, he says:—"What a misfortune to the public that R. Morris has fallen from his height of character. If he could get from confinement, & the public give him confidence, he would be a most valuable officer in that Station [Secretary of the Treasury], & in our council, but there are two impossibilities in the way." * * *

- 95 Jefferson, Thomas. Autograph Letters, Memorandums and Notes. Various dates. 9 pieces.

John Quincy Adams's Letters to James Madison.

- 96 Adams, John Quincy. President of the United States. Letters signed. Quarto. Washington, October 22, 1818, June 18, 1819, and June 2, 1820. To James Madison. 3 pieces.

Acquainting Mr. Madison of the fact, that—"On the 19th of March, 1796, there were deposited in this office, by President Washington, a volume of manuscript containing the Journal of the proceedings of the Convention; a second volume containing their proceedings in Committee of the Whole; a third containing lists of yeas and nays on various questions, and nine separate papers—two of which are copies of Resolutions submitted by Mr. Randolph, and discussed in Convention. One is a printed *draft* of the Constitution as reported, with manuscript minutes of amendments to it, adopted after debate; and the rest are papers of little or no consequence. These are all the documents possessed by the Government, coming within the scope of the Resolution of Congress at their last session," [for the publication of the Journal of the Convention which formed the present Constitution]. * * * "The volume containing the Journal of the Convention is incomplete. The Record closes with the proceedings of Friday, 14th September, 1787. Those of Saturday, the 15th, & of Monday, the 17th, the day of final adjournment, are not entered in the book." * * * "The President has directed me to write you, and enquire if you can, without inconvenience, furnish the means of completing the Journal." * * * Also thanking Mr. Madison for supplying the means for completing the Journal, and asking him to read over the printed copy of the Journal (then sent) and correct whatever errors he might see.

- 97 Adams, John Quincy. President of the United States. Letters to James Madison, from April 30, 1809, to July 14, 1838, consisting of 9 Autograph Letters, signed; 6 Autograph Letters, signed and signatures cut off, and 1 Letter signed; in all 16 pieces.

Contains mostly his letters while Minister to Russia, on the eve of the second war with Great Britain.

John Quincy Adams's Letters of Sympathy to Mrs. Madison, on the death of James Madison.

- 98 Adams, John Quincy. President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto, 2 pages. Quincy, July 23, 1836. To Mrs. D. P. Madison.

"The city Government of Boston have resolved that as a manifestation of the sense entertained by the citizens of that place, in common with their fellow citizens of the United States, of the virtues, worth and services of James Madison, and their sorrow at the bereavement, which has removed from earth this eminent man, and deprived the American Nation of one of its most ardent Patriots and distinguished Statesmen, an Eulogy should be delivered before them upon his life and character, and they have been pleased to charge me with the performance of that duty.

"I have undertaken it, under the influence of a desire, perhaps more ardent than discreet, to do justice to my own feelings as well as to those of my fellow citizens.

"A summary account of the principal incidents of Mr. Madison's Life will of course be expected in this discourse. May I presume to ask of you the favor of any information concerning him, not publicly known, but which may tend more effectually to display his rare and exemplary virtues, and especially any minutes or memoranda of his own, concerning his childhood and youth?" * * *

- 99 Adams, John Quincy. President of the United States. Printed Letter, signed. Quarto. Washington, June 30, 1824. To James Madison.

Conveying two copies of fac-similes of the original Declaration of Independence, engraved by Wm. J. Stone; also the resolution of Congress respecting the portrait of Columbus, presented to the nation by G. G. Barrell.

- 100 Adams, John. President of the United States. Autograph Letters, signed. Folio and Quarto. Quincy, April 22, 1817, and June 17, 1818. 2 pieces. To James Madison.

Interesting letters on the writings of eminent authors of the day.

- 101 Adams, John. President of the United States. 7 Autograph Letters (with signatures cut off). To James Madison.

Some of these letters are very interesting, and one in particular that comments on the majority that Mr. Madison is likely to have on his second election. The signatures have been cut off, as gifts to friends who requested them.

- 102 **Monroe, James. President of the United States.** Letters to James Madison, from May 18, 1786, to April 11, 1831, consisting of 20 Autograph Letters, signed. Quarto.

On affairs of state and private matters.

- 103 **Monroe, James. President of the United States.** 5 Autograph Letters (with signatures cut off). To James Madison.

- 104 **Clay, Henry. Eminent American Statesman.** Letters of, to James Madison, consisting of 10 Autograph Letters, signed, and 2 Autograph Letters, with signature cut off. Quarto. 12 pieces.

Portraying, in a very plain manner, his views and ideas of the tariff.

- 105 **Madison, James. Autograph Memoranda.** Quarto. 3 pages.

Mr. Madison writes: "This had been prepared by J. M. as a preface or prospectus for the memoir [of Thomas Jefferson] when that alone was intended for immediate publication."

- 106 **Hamilton, Alexander. Eminent Statesman and General.** 3 Autograph Letters, signed. Folio and quarto. Head-Quarters, January 30, March 26, and July 24, 1779. To General Knox.

- 107 **Harrison, Robert H. General in the Revolutionary War, and Secretary to General Washington.** Autograph Letter, signed. Dated August 28, 1779. Folio.

- 108 **Bland, Theodoric. Member of the Old Congress, and officer in the Revolutionary War.** Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 3 pages. Philadelphia, March 3, 1783. To Edmund Randolph.

Mentions the condition of the finances of Great Britain, and concludes that it is necessary for her to have peace. Also mentions that Robert Morris had sent in his resignation of the office of finances.

- 109 **Indiana Territory.** The original petition of a portion of the Legislative Council and of the House of Representatives of the Indiana Territory, to Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, complaining of the arbitrary and oppressive conduct of John R. Jones, in his official capacity as President of the Legislative Council, and praying for his removal. Signed by George Fisher, Shadiach Bond, James Beggs, General W. Johnston, Luke Decker and Henry Hunt. Dated, Indiana Territory, October 26, 1808. Folio. 3 pages.

Washington's Reception by Congress.

110 Broadside—Issued April 29, 1789—

"The Committees of both Houses of Congress, appointed to take order for conducting the ceremonial of the formal reception, &c., of the President of the United States, on Thursday next, have agreed to the following order thereon, viz :

"That General Webb, Colonel Smith, Lieutenant-Colonel Fish, Lieut-Col. Franks, Major L'Enfant, Major Bleecker, and Mr. John R. Livingston, be requested to serve as assistants on the occasion.

"That a chair be placed in the Senate-Chamber for the President of the United States; that a chair be placed in the Senate-Chamber for the Vice-President, to the right of the President's chair; and that the Senators take their seats on that side of the chamber on which the Vice-President's chair shall be placed. That a chair be placed in the Senate-Chamber for the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the left of the President's chair—and that the Representatives take their seats on that side of the chamber on which the Speaker's chair shall be placed," etc., etc. Folio.

Anonymous Letters to James Madison, from 1808 to 1824.

111 Madison, James. President of the United States. 88 Anonymous Letters to, folio and quarto, from various portions of the United States, on all conceivable subjects. Mounted in one volume. Folio. Morocco.

If we consider this generation to be afflicted with a plague of "cranks," what, in the name of common sense, must we term the era during the administrations of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, besieged as they were, and as these letters will attest, with long epistles, some covering nearly fifty pages of foolscap, teeming with nonsensical advice from obscure individuals, formulating plans to cure all the ills under which the country was then suffering; bloodthirsty threats of idiotic political enemies; blessings and prayers of religious numsculls, and, goodness knows, what not! These letters, were they published collectively in one volume, would impress the reader as the writings of the inmates of a mad-house. They commence with accusing Jefferson and Madison of acting under French influence with the intention of selling the country to Bonaparte; many were written on the eve of the election which placed James Madison in the Presidential chair, and denounce DeWitt Clinton and his colleagues as the most corrupt of men, showing up in very glaring colors their machinations against the election of Mr. Madison. Others ascribe the opposition in New York, New England and Pennsylvania to Jefferson's Embargo law, and predict all sorts of calamities to the country if it should not be at once revoked. Then follow severe criticisms, by another hand, on the act sanctioned by Jefferson for allowing foreigners to become citizens after a residence of only four years. A financier, no doubt of great ability, and who should have been acting in the capacity of Secretary of the Treasury (?), imparts a very elaborate plan for raising a revenue for carrying on the war with Great Britain (1812). A patriot of no mean calibre recommends the humane policy of burning every town belonging to the English, that our ships could reach, as a retaliatory measure. Another, who signs himself "Charles Hall," offers his services for making, charging and applying

"submarine

submarine infernal machines to transmit loyal British subjects to the arms of their Creator, without the otherwise necessary assistance of doctor or deacon. An "Old Soldier" submits a plan, worthy the brains of the greatest military engineer, for taking the Canadas, a plan which was not adopted, however. An astute gentleman of Boston kindly transmits valuable information of the vast amount of goods that were smuggled into that port, and comments on the corruptness of the Custom-House officials, a disease, no doubt, with which they are still afflicted. Then comes a plan for establishing that fortress captured by Andrew Jackson, *a national bank*. But probably the most noted and most intelligent of all these lovers of their country, was embodied in the person of one who signed himself "Edmund Kelly" in his epistles, which are exceedingly numerous and lengthy. He discovers to Mr. Madison the terrible fact that General Jackson was in league with an association of English subjects, calling themselves Orangemen, for the purpose of adulterating all sugars consumed by Americans with some deleterious substance, that would gradually weaken and, eventually, translate to a more congenial clime the patriots who might partake of such sweets, and thus, in due time, bring America under the subjection of England. There is no doubt but that Mr. Madison kept these letters intact for the purpose of cheering himself at times when afflicted with melancholia.

Letters of Richard Rush, to James Madison, and others.

- 112 Rush, Richard. Secretary of the Treasury, Attorney General of the United States, etc. 52 Autograph Letters, signed; 2 Letters, signed; 5 Autograph Letters, signed in the third person; 13 Copies of Letters and 3 Autograph Letters of Catharine E. Rush; from January 30, 1812, to March 25, 1831. Folio and quarto. 78 pieces. To James Madison and others.

NOTE.—*Richard Rush was a native of Pennsylvania. Born 1780; died 1859. He was at different times Comptroller of the Treasury, Attorney-General of the United States, Minister to England (where he negotiated some important treaties), Secretary of the Treasury, Minister to France (and the first foreign Minister at Paris to recognize the French Republic, in 1848), etc. The letters are mostly written by Mr. Rush, in his official capacity at Washington, to James Madison.*

- 113 Rives, William C. Minister to France. Letters to James Madison and Mrs. Madison, and J. C. Payne, from September 23, 1828, to October 27, 1837; consisting of 39 Autograph Letters, signed. Folio and quarto. Also 9 Autograph Letters, signed by J. P. Rives; in all, 48 pieces.

NOTE.—*W. C. Rives was a native of Virginia. Born May 4, 1793, died April 26, 1863. He was a member of the Staunton Convention called to revise the Constitution of Virginia; was appointed Minister to France under President Jackson; was a member of Congress and a United States Senator, and also a member of the Confederate States Congress. He wrote and published "The Life of James Madison." These letters are of a private nature, as well as official.*

- 114 **Rush, Benjamin.** Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 3 pages. Philadelphia, April 24, 1790. To James Madison.

* * * "Your motion in honor of the memory of Dr. Franklin has added to the number & affection of your friends in this city."

- 115 **Rush, Benjamin.** Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Autograph Letter, signed. 2 pages. Folio. Philadelphia, December 8, 1801.

Asking that his son, Richard Rush, be appointed private secretary to a foreign minister.

- 116 **Page, Mann.** Member of the Continental Congress, from Virginia. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Mansfield, January 24, 1789.

- 117 **Scott, Gustavus.** Member of the Old Congress, from Maryland. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 3 pages. Cambridge, May 16, 1789.

- 118 **Walker, John.** Member of the First Congress, from Virginia. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. April 29, 1789.

- 119 **Walker, John.** Member of the First Congress. Folio. 2 pages. Belvoir, June 18, 1789.

- 120 **Walker, John.** Member of the First Congress. Folio. Belvoir, August 2, 1789.

- 121 **Walker, John.** Member of the First Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Shirley, November 7, 1791. To James Madison, with address.

122. **Walker, John.** Member of the First Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Shirley, May 11, 1801. To James Madison, with address.

- 123 **Walker, John.** Member of the First Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Belvoir, June 16, 1803.

- 124 **Walker, John.** Member of the First Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Belvoir, September 26, 1807.

- 125 **Walker, John.** Member of the First Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. 2 pages. Quarto. To James Madison.

Congratulating Mr. Madison on his election to the Presidency of the United States.

- 126 **Scammill, Colonel Alexander.** Celebrated Officer in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. Camp Middle Brook, May 24, 1779. To General Knox.

- 127 **Nicholas, George.** Colonel in the Revolution, and Chief Justice of Kentucky. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. June 29, 1789. Inclosing an Autograph Order, signed under the same date, on James Madison. Quarto. 2 pieces.
- 128 **Moylan, Stephen.** Celebrated General in the American Revolution. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. Philadelphia, January 15, 1795. To James Madison, with address.
- 129 **Peale, Charles Willson.** Painted a Portrait of Washington. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 3 pages. To James Madison, with address.
- 130 **Pinckney, Charles.** Revolutionary Patriot, Signer of the Constitution, Governor of South Carolina, etc. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 3 pages. Charleston, July 8, 1801. To James Madison, with address.
- 131 **Madison, Mrs. Dolly P.** Wife of James Madison. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Montpelier, October 10, 1839.
- 132 **Madison, Mrs. Dolly P.** Wife of James Madison. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Montpelier, October 28, 1839.
- 133 **Madison, Mrs. Dolly P.** Wife of James Madison. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Montpelier, January 16, 1843.
- 134 **Madison, James.** Certificate of Membership of the United States Naval Lyceum. January, 1834. Signed by Commodore M. C. Perry. Folio.
- 135 **Volume of Letters, written by various individuals, to James Madison, including one or more Autograph Letters signed by Cæsar A. Rodney, Attorney General; Charles Pinckney, signer of the Constitution; Marquis de Casa Yrujo, Lord Ashburton, John Page, Governor of Virginia; Colonel Arthur Campbell, distinguished in Indian warfare; Mrs. Dolly P. Madison, wife of James Madison; William Cushing, Judge of the District Court of the United States; General Samuel Smith, of the Revolutionary War; Robert Smith, Secretary of State; James Fenner, Governor of Rhode Island; John Jacob Astor, Commodore Thomas Troxtun, J. K. Paulding, George Graham, Secretary of the Navy; Andrew Stevenson, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and others. In all 179 pieces, neatly mounted. Folio. Half morocco.**

NOTICE.

The papers belonging to the Estate of J. C. McGuire end at lot 139.

- 136 Volume of Letters, written by various individuals, to James Madison, including one or more Autograph Letters signed by John Walker, member of the first Congress; Daniel Clark, of Burr conspiracy fame; Pierce Butler, signer of the Constitution; Jared Ingersoll, signer of the Constitution; Charles Pinckney, signer of the Constitution; Francis Bailey, printer; Francis Brooke, Judge of the Court of Appeals of Virginia; Aaron Burr, Richard Peters, member of the Old Congress; Gabriel Duval, Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; Aedanus Burke, member of the first Congress; Cæsar A. Rodney, Attorney General, and others. In all 100 pieces, neatly mounted. Folio. Half morocco.
- 137 Volume of Letters, written by various individuals, to James Madison, including one or more Autograph Letters signed by Andrew Stevenson, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Thomas J. Randolph, James K. Paulding, Charles Lucian Bonaparte, the ornithologist; Aaron Burr, Josiah Quincy, President of Harvard College; J. B. Longacre, engraver; John G. Chapman, artist; Edward Livingston, Secretary of State; John Forsyth, Secretary of War; Edward Everett, Frank P. Blair, and others. In all 79 pieces, neatly mounted. Folio. Half morocco.
- 138 Volume of Letters, written by various individuals, to James Madison, including one or more Autograph Letters signed by J. K. Paulding, Benjamin H. Latrobe, architect; William Findlay, who wrote the "History of the Whisky Insurrection"; Thomas Todd, Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States; Thomas J. Randolph, Governor of Virginia; Benjamin W. Crowninshield, Secretary of the Navy; Richard Bland Lee, member of the Old Congress; Charles B. King, portrait painter; Andrew Stevenson, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Edward Everett, and others. In all 147 pieces, neatly mounted. Folio. Half morocco.
- 139 Trist, N. P. One hundred Autograph Letters, signed, from September 16, 1826, to November 2, 1836; addressed to James Madison and Mrs. Dolly P. Madison. Neatly mounted. Folio. Half morocco.

Principally relating to the University of Virginia, Nullification Act, and Secession.

Rev. Jacob Duché's Noted Letter, to General George Washington.

- 140 Duché, Rev. Jacob. Chaplain of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 13 pages. Philadelphia, October 8, 1777. To General George Washington.*

The Rev. Jacob Duché, author of this letter, which has contributed so much in adding lustre to the character of "Our Washington," was born in Philadelphia, about 1739, was a clergyman of the Episcopal Church, was rector of Christ Church, celebrated for his eloquence, and was one of the most popular of preachers.

At the beginning of the Revolution he espoused the cause of the Colonies, and made the opening prayer at the first Congress, September 7, 1774. He was chosen chaplain to Congress July 9, 1776, but resigned in October, on account of ill health (in his letter he says he resigned on account of the determination to separate from Great Britain), when the British took possession of Philadelphia. Alarmed at the gloomy aspect of affairs, Duché forsook the patriot cause, and, in a letter to Washington, dated October 8, 1777, urged him to pursue the same course. Mr. Duché, who married a sister of Francis Hopkinson, went to England with his family, but returned to Philadelphia in 1790, where he died January 3, 1798.

The late Mr. Schuesselle made this letter the subject of a very clever portrait of Washington, representing him seated at a table at his Headquarters, Valley Forge, with the Duché letter crumpled in his hand. The artist, in common with historians of that time, labored under the impression that the letter was handed to Washington at Valley Forge, and the well-known engraving, by E. S. Best, of this painting has been so lettered; but the truth is that the letter was received at headquarters, Worcester Township, Philadelphia County, now Montgomery County, October 15, 1777. In his letter to Congress, dated Headquarters, Wentz's, October 16, 1777, Washington says: "I yesterday, through the hands of Mrs. Ferguson, of Graham (Graeme) Park, received a letter, of a very curious and extraordinary nature, from Mr. Duché, which I have thought proper to transmit to Congress."

That this extraordinary as well as unexpected epistle surprised and chagrined Washington cannot be doubted; extraordinary, because it breathed such vile treason; unexpected, because it had come from him, who had been selected to make, and had breathed, the first prayer to Almighty God asking for divine assistance in the struggles to free this nation from the tyranny of the British yoke.

The writer of this letter was probably a man of timid nature, who considered our cause as very hazardous. That he was a pessimist is proved by the gloomy outlook he took of all the doings of Congress and the army. In the wording of portions of the composition, we can hardly bring ourselves to believe that it was not written at the dictation of British agents, especially that part wherein he begs for the resumption of the negotiations with Lord Howe, which had been broken off prior to the Declaration of Independence; as also the detailed account which he gives of the victories and achievements of the British arms. The fact of the British taking possession of Philadelphia, the then capital of the new confederation, and the fact that Congress had fled to meet elsewhere, worked upon his nervous disposition to such an extent, that he thought the cause was lost, embraced the opportunity to seek

* For copy of this letter, printed *verbatim, literatim et punctuatim*, see extra pamphlet, issued with this catalogue.

Sir,

Philadelphia, Oct: 8th 1777

If this Letter should find you in Council or in the field, before you read another sentence, I beg you to take the first opportunity of retiring— and weighing its important Contents. You are perfectly acquainted with the part I formerly took in the present unhappy Contest. I was, indeed, among the first to bear my public Testimony against having any recourse to threats, or indulging, or thought of an armed Opposition. The Current however was too strong for my feeble efforts to resist. I wished to follow my Countrymen as far only as virtue and the Righteousness of their Cause would permit me. I was however prevailed upon, among the rest of my Clerical Brethren in this City, to gratify the pressing desires of my fellow-Citizens— by preaching a Sermon to the 2^d ^{City} Battalion. I was pressed to publish this Sermon and reluctantly consented. From a personal attachment of near 20 years standing, and a high respect for your Character in private as well as publick life, I took the liberty of dedicating this Sermon to you. — I had your affectionate thanks for my performance in a Letter— wherein was expressed, in the most delicate & obliging

individual to address himself to you on a subject of such magnitude, or to say what measures would best secure the interest & welfare of a whole Continent. The friendly and favorable opinion you have always expressed for me emboldens me to undertake it; and which has greatly added to the weight of this motive, I have been strongly impressed with a sense of duty upon the occasion, which left my conscience uneasy and my heart afflicted till I fully discharged it. I am no Enthusiast - the cause is new and singular to me, but I could not enjoy one moment's peace till this letter was written. With the most ardent prayers for your spiritual, as well as temporal welfare - I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient and
humble Friend and Servant
Jacob Duché

His Excellency General Washington

shelter under the protection of his sovereign, as he was pleased to call George the Third, and was then induced by British agents to approach the *unapproachable* Washington with the tempting bait of personal aggrandizement at the expense of his purpose of freeing his countrymen of British tyranny. It must be admitted that Dr. Duché's statement of the gloomy condition of affairs was scarcely overdrawn, and a weaker man than Washington might have been swayed from his course, and our country have remained a dependency of Great Britain. As it was addressed to *a* Washington, it failed of its purpose; as it was *a* Washington who received it, it consequently obtained the consideration it was doomed to receive from *a* Washington, and was transmitted by *a* Washington (no doubt with a sigh of pity for the author) to the Congress of his suffering countrymen, to be acted upon as they saw fit; thus adding another ray to the already refulgent crown of glory that surrounded the head of the immortal chief.

The letter, in itself, is one of the most interesting of historical papers, embracing as it does, one of the most important epochs of Revolutionary history, and affords one of the numerous proofs of the sublime virtue and patriotism of him whom all nations do now, and will for all time and ever, proclaim as their apostle in everything that appertains to true greatness, true freedom and true principles of government—GEORGE WASHINGTON!—"May his enemies have the justice to applaud his virtues, and his friends the candor to acknowledge his errors."

What has become of the identical letter sent to Washington, is not known. This letter, which was discovered in the Duché papers, is the autograph draft of the original, signed and addressed, and is consequently the one from which he copied that which was received by General Washington. It is surprising that it has not found its way into print more generally; and it should now be incorporated in school histories as an example of the unapproachable character of the "Father of his Country."

Washington's Letters of Condolence on the death of Colonel Tench Tilghman.

- 141 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter. Signed. Quarto. With fine signature, on franked address.

"Mount Vernon, May 10th, 1786.

"*Thomas R. Tilghman*

"Sir,

"Being at Richmond when your favor of the 22d ult'o came to this place, is the reason of its having lain so long unacknowledged.—I delayed not a moment after my return to discharge the Ball'e of your deceased Brother's acc't against me, to Mr. Watson, according to your request.

"As there were few men for which I had a warmer friendship, or greater regard than for your Brother—Colonel Tilghman—when living; so, with much truth I can assure you, that there are none whose death I could more sincerely have regretted—and I pray you, & his numerous friends, to permit me to mingle my sorrows with theirs on this unexpected & melancholy occasion—and that they would accept my compliments of condolence on it.

"I am—Sir

"Vr most obed't Hble Serv't

"GEO WASHINGTON"

Washington's Letter vindicating himself against the accusations of the British officer, Captain Asgill.

142 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Signed. Quarto. 4 pages.

" Mount Vernon, 5th June, 1786.

" *James Tilghman*

" Dear Sir,

" I have just had the honour to receive your favour of the 26th ult'o.—Of all the numerous acquaintances of your lately deceased son, & amidst all the sorrowings that are mingled on that melancholy occasion, I may venture to assert that (excepting those of his nearest relatives) none could have felt his death with more regret than I did—because no one entertained a higher opinion of his worth, or had imbibed sentiments of greater friendship for him than I had done.—That you, Sir, should have felt the keenest anguish for his loss, I can readily conceive,—the ties of parental affection united with those of friendship, could not fail to have produced this effect. It is however a dispensation, the wisdom of which is inscrutable; and amidst all your grief, there is this consolation to be drawn;—that while living, no man could be more esteemed—and since dead, none more lamented than Col. Tilghman.—

" As his correspondence with the Com'ee of New York is not connected with any transactions of mine, so, consequently, it is not necessary that the Papers to which you allude should compose part of my public documents; but if they stand single, as they exhibit a trait of his public character, and like all the rest of his transactions will, I am persuaded, do honor to his understanding and probity, it may be desirable, in this point of view, to keep them alive by mixing them with mine; which, undoubtedly, will claim the attention of the Historian.—Who, if I mistake not, will upon an inspection of them, discover the illiberal ground on which the charge mentioned in the extract of the letter you did me the honour to inclose me is founded.—That a calumny of this kind had been reported, I knew;—I had laid my acc't for the calumnies of anonymous scribblers; but I never before had conceived that such an one as is related, could have originated with, or have met the countenance of Capt'n Asgill; whose situation often filled me with the keenest anguish.—I felt for him on many acc'ts; and not the least, when, viewing him as a man of honour & sentiment, how unfortunate it was for him that a wretch who possessed neither, should be the means of causing in him a single pang, or a disagreeable sensation.—My favourable opinion of him however is forfeited, if, being acquainted with these reports, he did not immediately contradict them.—That I could not have given countenance to the insults which *he says* were offered to his person, especially the *grovelling* one of erecting a Gibbet before his prison window, will, I expect, readily be believed when I explicitly declare that, I never heard of a single attempt to offer an insult; and that I had every reason to be convinced that he was treated by the Officers around him with all the tenderness and every civility in their power.—I would fain ask Capt'n Asgill how he could reconcile such belief (if his mind had been seriously impressed with it) to the continual indulgences, & procrastinations he had experienced?—He will not, I presume,

" deny

deny that he was admitted to his parole within 10 or 12 Miles of the British lines;—if not to a formal Parole, to a confidence yet more unlimited—by being permitted, for the benefit of his health, & recreation of his mind, to ride, not only about the Cantonment, but into the surrounding Country for many miles, with his friend & Companion, Maj Gordon, constantly attending him.—Would not these indulgences have pointed a Military character to the fountain from which they flowed?—Did he conceive, that discipline was so lax in the American Army as that *any officer in it* w'd have granted these liberties to a Person confined by the express order of the Commander in chief unless authorized to do so by the same authority? & to ascribe them to the interference of Count de Rochambeau, is as void of foundation as his other conjectures; for I do not recollect that a sentence ever passed between that General and me, directly, or indirectly, on the subject.—I was not without suspicions after the final liberation and return of Capt'n Asgill to New York, that his mind had been improperly impressed—or that he was defective in politeness.—The treatment he had met with, in my conception, merited an acknowledgment.—none however was offered, and I never sought for the cause.

"This concise acc't of the treatment of Capt'n Asgill is given from a hasty recollection of the circumstances.—If I had had time, and it was essential, by unpacking my papers & recurring to authentic files, I might have been more pointed, and full.—It is in my power at any time to convince the *unbiassed* mind that my conduct through the whole of this transaction was neither influenced by passion—guided by inhumanity—or under the control of any interference whatsoever.—I essayed every thing to save the innocent and bring the guilty to punishment, with what success the impartial world must, and hereafter certainly will, decide

"With very great esteem and regard

"I have the honour to be

"Dear Sir

"Yr most obed' Serv't

"GEO WASHINGTON"

143 Washington, General George. Autograph Letter.
Octavo. In the third person.

"William Tilghman

"Whenever it shall be convenient to Mr. Tilghman, the Presid't will receive the money which he has obtained from Mr. George, with a statement of the account.—The sum charged by Mr. Tilghman the P. thinks very reasonable, and is willing to allow it.

"Friday Morn'g

"4th Sep'r '95"

144 Washington, General. Letter Signed. Folio. 2 pages.
Has fine signature of Washington on franked address.

"Headquarters, Valley Forge, 12th Feb'y, 1778.

"His Excellency Thomas Wharton, President of the State of Pennsylvania,
at Lancaster.

"Sir,

"I have the honor of yours of the 7th instant, which is fully answered by mine of the 10th.

"When the Winter quarters of the Army were arranged, it was agreed between Gen'l Armstrong and myself, that the Militia of this State should

"cover

cover the Country between the Schuylkill and Delaware, in order to prevent the incursions of small parties of the Enemy, and to cut off the intercourse between the City and Country.

"The number of Militia fixed upon for this purpose, was one thousand, which Gen. Armstrong promised should be regularly kept up. Upon the appointment of Gen'l Lacey, Gen'l Potter, who had been long from home, gave up the command to him. As I have not the pleasure of knowing Gen'l Lacey, I will not undertake to say whether the little that has been done since Gen'l Potter's departure has been owing to any want of activity in him, or whether he has not been furnished with the stipulated number of men, but this is a fact, that they have by some means of other dwindled away to nothing, and there are no guards within twenty Miles of the City on the East side of Schuylkill, except a few patrols of Light Horse, who being unsupported by Foot, dare not go near the enemy's lines. Owing to this, the intercourse of all the country, between Schuylkill and Delaware, is as open and uninterrupted as ever it was, and must continue so, unless a sufficient number of Militia are immediately ordered out. The continental Troops, much worn down with the fatigues of the campaign—building themselves houses and fortifying their Camp, are unable to perform more duty than they have to do on this side of the River, especially as many of them cannot leave their Quarters for want of Cloathing.

"I hope from this state of facts that you will immediately order out at least the number of Men stipulated by Gen'l Armstrong; and if possible, some hundred more, for the purpose of forming the most advanced Guards, as we find the continental Troops (especially those who are not Natives) are very apt to desert from the pickets.

"I have the Honor to be

"Sir

"Yr most ob't Serv't

"GEO WASHINGTON.

"P. S. Since writing the above I have rec'd a letter from Gen'l Lacey dated at Warwick in Bucks County, in which he informes me that his Numbers are reduced to between 60 and 100."

MISCELLANEOUS

COMPRISING SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE,
MEMBERS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, GENERALS
AND OTHER OFFICERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR,
FOREIGN OFFICERS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR,
COLONIAL GOVERNORS, MISSIONARIES TO THE
INDIANS, PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES,
GENERALS IN THE CIVIL WAR, ETC., ETC.—

ALSO

LETTERS RELATING TO ARNOLD'S TREASON.

- 145 Adams, Abigail. Wife of John Adams, President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Quincy, June 12, 1799. To Mrs Sarah W. A. Morton (wife of Perez Morton,) styled the "American Sappho."

On the subject of the intended dedication of one of her writings.

"I received yesterday, by Mr. Morton, your polite request of dedicating to me what you are pleas'd to call 'one of your favorite children.' Portrayed as it is by your pen, I cannot but receive, and foster it, with particular regard. The very flattering manner in which you have introduced it to me merits my acknowledgment. If, in the two most important characters of female life, I have been so happy as to discharge the duties of them in such a manner as to merit the approbation of the good and the virtuous, it will be a sufficient Eulogy to me. Upon the purity, honour and chastity of the female character, depend the morals, the virtue, the religion and independence of our country, as well as its domestic felicity, and the elegant pen of Mrs. Morton cannot be more beneficially employ'd than in inculcating and celebrating those virtues; which, whilst they do honour to her sex, are fully exemplified in her own conduct; and will shed upon her character more unfading Laurels than the distinguished literary and poetical talents which she so eminently possesses."

Beautiful specimen, with full signature.

John Adams's Letter praising the Citizens of Philadelphia for their loyalty.

- 146 Adams, John. Second President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 3 pages. Philadelphia, April 23, 1798. To the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of the City of Philadelphia.

"Never, as I can recollect, were any class of my Fellow Citizens more welcome to me, on any occasion, than the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the City of Philadelphia, upon this.

"At a time, when all the old Republics of Europe are crumbling into Dust, and others forming whose Destinies are dubious, when the Monarchies of the Old World are, some of them fallen, and others trembling to their

"foundations,

foundations, when our own Infant Republic has Sarcely had time to cement its Strength or decide its practical form, when these Agitations of the human Species, have affected our People, and produced a Spirit of Party, which Scruples not to go all Lengths of Profligacy, falsehood and Malignity in defaming our Government, your Approbation and Confidence are to me a great consolation. Under your immediate observation and inspection, the principal operations of the Government are directed, and to you, both characters and conduct must be intimately known.

"I am but one of the American People, and my fate and fortunes must be decided with theirs. As far as the forces of Nature may remain to me, I will not be wanting in my Duties to them, nor will I harbour a Suspicion that they will fail to afford me all necessary Aid and Support.

"While, with the greatest Pleasure, I reciprocate your congratulations on the prospect of Unanimity, that now presents itself to the hopes of every American, and on that Spirit of Patriotism and Independence that is rising into active exertion in opposition to Seduction, Domination and Rapine, I offer a Sincere Prayer that the Citizens of Philadelphia may persevere in the virtuous course, and maintain the honourable character of their Ancestors, and be protected from every calamity, physical, moral and political."

- 147 Adams, John Quincy. President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Quincy, August 12, 1845. To Rev. Nicholas Murray.

In relation to an invitation to deliver an address at the laying of the corner stone of a monument to the memory of Rev. James Caldwell, the patriotic clergyman who was shot by a sentry.

"A precarious and infirm state of health, and the decay of body and mind incident to advanced age, have made it impossible for me to foresee whether at any given day in advance it may be in my power to address a meeting of my fellow citizens in public. I have therefore been compelled to decline contracting any such engagement, and to deprive myself of the pleasure of accepting all such invitations even conditionally." * * * "The design of the citizens of Elizabethtown to erect a monument to the memory of the Rev'd James Caldwell is one that appeals to the sympathies of every American heart. That they have thought me worthy of being associated with them in this act of piety and of patriotism entitles them to the warmest of my very grateful sentiments, and while the pulses of my heart shall beat, can never be forgotten by me." * * * "*To contribute one sprig of myrtle to clothe in unfading verdure the grave of that blessed martyr in the cause of our Country's freedom, would be, could I command my own destiny, the last act with which I would close my own earthly career.* But from one day to another I have no controul over my own voice. To-day I could address assembled multitudes so as to be heard and understood by them all, and to-morrow the organs of speech may be extinguished so as to deprive me of the privilege of being heard in a private room. To these alterations I have been subject for years, and the occasional failures of my voice increase in frequency with every added year. They occur most in both extremes of the Seasons of heat and cold. The fear of unavoidable disappointment forbids me to make an engagement which it is quite probable I may not have it in my power to fulfil. But if you can make the arrangements for the whole ceremony without dependence upon my participation in it, yet reserving a short space of time in which, if present, as I will endeavor to be, I may express to the people of Elizabethtown my feelings of gratitude to them for their kindness and my hearty concurrence with them in their commemoration of heroic virtue in the annals of our revolution, please to forward to me the history of Mr. Caldwell and his family, promised in your letter, and when the time shall approach for the solemnity I will, if practicable, adapt the arrangements of my journey to Washington so at least as to be a witness of this honourable tribute to one who in life and death honoured his native land,"

Very fine specimen, with full signature.

- 148 Aitken, Robert. Printer. Published the first American edition of the Bible in the English language. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. February 8, 1797. To John Nicholson.

In relation to business troubles.

"Our shop goes on, or rather stands still, for want of stationery, as every article I have to purchase, when I can, in the small way, which is very unproductive. Everything considered, we do very well in the printing way, as we keep hard at it. If fairly under way, with paper and stationery, something might be brought out." Etc.

- 149 Alden, Roger. Major in the Revolutionary War. Aide to General Greene. Autograph Letter, signed. October 25, 1779. To Jabez Clark.

"I am anxious to know whether you have any expectations of supplying the wants of so many needy officers as you have under your care. Our wants are great—what are we to expect? Blue cloth is the foundation of the American uniform. I fancy it will be difficult to procure a sufficiency. Of consequence, our dress will be as various as ever." Etc.

- 150 Alsop, John. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. New York, May 16, 1763.

Business letter.

- 151 Amherst, Jeffrey, Lord. Major-General and Commander-in-chief in America. Captured Louisburg, Crown Point, and Ticonderoga. Letter, signed. Folio. Albany, June 15, 1761.

"Amongst the children lately sent from Canada, that had been in the hands of the Indians, and some that had been secreted by the Canadians, I find there are six that were taken in the Government of Pennsylvania, and two in Virginia, all whom I now send you, with the enclosed Return which contains all the Intelligence I can give you of them; and I beg you will be pleased to deliver them to their Parents or Relations." * * * "I enclose you Paragraphs of a letter I have received from Governor Fitch, in answer to the one I acquainted you I intended to write him, in relation to the encroachments making by the Connecticut People in the Government of Pennsylvania, and hope that affair will be amicably settled for the mutual advantage of both Provinces."

Important Military Letter, giving an account
of the engagements at Chestnut Hill,
and its vicinity, that grew out of
General Howe's efforts to in-
duce General Washing-
ton to attack him.

- 152 **Armstrong, John.** Brigadier-General in the Revolutionary War. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. Camp, White Marsh, December 7, 1777, at night.

"The Enemy in full force has now been three days on Chestnut Hill, their left near the Wissahikin and the right extending to the head of Germantown. This position, guarded on both wings, was not thought so eligible as cou'd be wished for an attack on our part. On Friday last none of the Army (except the Horse) moved, but the Militia only intended to annoy them on the march, for this purpose General Potter with part of his Brigade by the way of Barren Hill Church for the Enemies left. Gen'l Irwin with six hundred of his went on a different direction only to send them out in small partys and give some instructions, but before he had thought proper to disperse his men they fell in with a body of the Enemy and a warm scirmish ensued for the space of twenty minutes. A few of ours behaved pretty well, killed and wounded some of the Enemy. Amongst the latter was a Baron Knight, whos name the informer cou'd not give. But we have lost the use of our good officer and friend G'l Irwin, three of his fingers being shot off. He fell from his horse and none of his men gave him the least assistance, being at that time broke and runing, as did the greater part of them very early. Some of Potter's had a short scirmish, soon repulsed, but killed one and brought off his sword. The lines maned almost day and night. The baggage &c. being hastily sent off, some hundreds of the troops have followed it under the pretext of getting necessaries.

"At 12 last night the Enemy moved toward our left and the York Road, and this afternoon the general attack was expected. Gen'l Potter with his whole Brigade and the best of our Militia was order'd to a certain woods. A part of the Enemies rear, who first discovered ours, attacked and soon dispersed them, they say by falling into bad ground. Five came in wounded, and some few I presume are prisoners. Part of Morgan's light troops were also engaged and repulsed by superior numbers. To-morrow morning most probably the general affair comes on, if not this night. The Express shall remain until farther.

"8th. At night. This day, contrary to all expectation, is also passed over without an attack, the Enemy frequently moveing and sometimes on different directions from left to right of our lines. Morgan's Corps, strengthened by five men from each Continental Batt'n, was this afternoon to have harrased the Enemies wings, but at dark we had no intelligence of the effect. At five we were informed that one of their Colums were in march toward Jermantown, whether retreating or repairing to that Village to avoid rain is yet uncertain. Since they left town we had a considerable number of prisoners and deserters. The Enemy had several waggons employed in carrying off their wounded on scirmish of Saturday, after which Gen'l Irwin

"and

and Sir James Murray had their wounds dressed at Chestnut Hill. Yesterday General Ried, leading on some of our militia with whom he fell in when reconnoitering, had his Horse shot thro' the head, lost one of his Pistols, Saddle and Bridle which he was obliged to leave with the dead Horse, himself having a narrow escape. The State I hope will make up this loss in the first instance.

"9th. In the morning. Last night the Enemy thought proper to retreat to Philad'a, having burnt the new Rising Sun Inn on their way. Whilst they lay on Chestnut Hill they burnt some good Houses and Barns and have it's said left several familys little more than empty walls. As not the least doubt was entertain'd that they wou'd attack us in our Encampment, the General thought it might have been imprudent in him to have left his chosen ground to have attacked them on the high grounds which they occupied, as had he been unfortunate no doubt wou'd in that instance incurred blame. Indeed the attack on the part of Gen'l Howe cou'd not well be doubted with the force and apparatus with which he approached and his knowledge of General Washington's situation before he left the City nearly equal to what it cou'd be afterwards. At any rate, had he stayed but one day longer, Gen'l Washington wou'd probably have decamp'd and risked the great event on new ground. This was on the carpet. I cannot shut up this without farther lamenting the loss of Gen'l Irwin to this State and in present circumstances to myself in particular." Etc.

- 152 Arnold, Benedict. Major-General in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 3 pages. October 28, 1794. To Colonel Fisher.

On the subject of supplies of beef for the troops at St. Lucia. *A splendid specimen.*

ARNOLD'S TREASON.

- 153 Arnold's Treason. Document, signed. Folio. 2 pages, General Henry Knox, with Autograph Document, signed, of General Nathaniel Greene (on the same paper).

Giving a statement of facts showing that Colonel Richard Varick, one of Arnold's aides, was guiltless of any knowledge of the intended treason.

"Colonel Richard Varick, of the late General Arnold's family, having requested me to declare what I know concerning his behaviour on the day of Arnold's flight, and on the days subsequent whilst I was at West Point, in justice to the said Colonel Varick I think myself bound to say that, on the discovery of Arnold's treachery, there was not a single circumstance to induce a suspicion that either he or Major David Franks was knowing or privy to the perfidy or flight of Arnold. That Col. Varick and Maj. Franks gave ready and decided answers to such questions respecting Arnold as were asked them, and willingly produced all papers belonging to him that were in their possession or that they could find; a particular instance of which was exhibited by Col. Varick two days after the first discovery—By a critical research in a trunk where Arnold's clothes were deposited, he found the plans and profiles of each work at West Point, in a separate paper, which he instantly brought to his Excellency General Washington. It was, until that time, supposed that Arnold had carried off these papers with him.

"Also, that I frequently examined the papers detected upon Major André, all which were written in Arnold's own hand. And that nothing appeared upon Major André's trial before the general officers of the army, of

"whom

whom I was one, to prove that he had ever been at Robinson's house; but he declared that the meeting at Smith's house was his first personal communication with Arnold.

"H. KNOX

"*Brig'r Gen'l Artillery.*"

"Personally appeared before me Brigadier General Knox, and made solemn oath to the truth of the foregoing relation.

"NATH. GREENE,

Major General."

"Oct. 22, 1780.

A historical paper of the utmost interest.

- 154 **Arnold's treason. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2** pages. Of Colonel (afterwards Brevet Brigadier-General) Richard Butler, to John Montgomery, member of the Continental Congress, dated West Point, October 8, 1780.

Giving a lengthy and detailed account of Arnold's treason.

"I Rec'd your fav'r of the 9th, Sept'r and would have been very happy if your Carolina acc'ts had been true, but alas they are (like many others) Premature. I fully agree with you in opinion with Respect to the Result of this Campaign and believe our swords (through necessity) will rust in the Scabbards and that there will be few broken Bones amongst us, but I hope you'll do us the justice to believe it is not our fault, or want of Inclination to Risque, but without the Command of the Sound and North River all our attempts against N. York must be abortive. Another thing. Our supplies of provisions must be more regular, and not an army starving seven days out of fifteen in the active time and part of a Campaign, which I assure you has been our *unfortunate* situation. Add to this the Villanies of that Arch Villian of detested memory, *Arnold*, who had sold to Clinton the important Post of West Point, and was so nigh Compleating the affair that the Troops were actually on board the Ships to take Possession, and only waited the Return of Major Andrae (Gen'l Clinton's aid), who came up to settle the Infernal plan with Arnold, and was fortunately taken on his Return to N. York, with maps of all the Forks and approaches of West Point, also letters to Clinton, and Arnold's pass for his security. He had changed his dress and left his Regimental coat at one Smith's, which brought him under the denomination of a Spy, for which he was tried and with his life has paid the forfeit on the 2d Instant. His friend, Smith, is now under trial and is Expected to share the same fate. Arnold escap'd by the stupidity of one Col. Jameson, of the Dragoons, who had Andrae in Custody and permitted him to write to Arnold, though all the papers mentioned was in his Possession, which ought to have induced him to order him into confinement. Notwithstanding which Gen'l Washington (to whom he had sent an acc't of the whole affair) was within half an hour of catching Arnold in his quarters, and he only got off in a boat to the Frigate that lay in the River with the clothes on his back, and the Scoundrel was so mean as to give up his bargemen, who he deceived by telling them he was going on board as a Flag of truce. But the British, excited by the Generosity of Gen'l Washington (who let a Crew of theirs that had been detain'd on their account at Stony Point) let all come away. Arnold has since wrote twice to Gen'l Washington respecting himself and Major Andrae, and threatened both the Court and the General should they execute him. Also, that he, Arnold, had acted on the same Principle that had actuated him all the war, (that is) the General good of his Country. How you will Reconcile the Idea to his conduct, I don't know, but I cannot for my life. On the whole, I think him one of the greatest Villians that ever disgrac'd a Nation. We march'd Gen'l Irvine's Brigade to this Post immediately on discovery of the Plot, and General Wayne's part of the way to Re-inforce us in case of necessity; but all being now quiet we move the 10th Inst. towards Jersey, where the chief of the army are march'd to-day, and the York troops with the Jersey and some others are to Garrison this Place. We hear nothing of the Second Division or Count de Guchien and his Fleet, and the others with the French Troops are quite safe and quiet at Rhode Island. I have no other news worth your notice, therefore now pray you and every other worthy Character to use your influence in Raising a force for the war, or God knows what will be the Result yet." Etc., etc.

- 155 **Arthur, Chester A.** President of the United States. The original manuscript (entirely in his handwriting) of his address to the United States Senate on assuming the duties of the office of Vice-President.

"Senators. I come as your presiding officer, with genuine solicitude. Remembering my inexperience in parliamentary proceedings, I cannot forget how important, delicate, and often embarrassing are the duties of the chair. At the threshold of our official association, I invoke that courtesy and kindness with which you have been wont to aid your presiding officer. I shall need your constant encouragement and support, and I rely with confidence upon your lenient judgment of any errors into which I may fall. In return, be assured of my earnest purpose to administer your rules in a spirit of absolute fairness, to treat every Senator at all times with that courtesy and just consideration due to the representatives of equal States, and to do my part, as assuredly each of you will do his, to maintain the order, decorum and dignity of the Senate. I trust that the official and personal relations upon which we now enter will be marked by mutual confidence and regard, and that all our obligations will be so fulfilled as to redound to our own honor, to the glory of our common country, and the prosperity of all its people."

- 156 **Barber, Francis.** Distinguished Colonel in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. Ticonderoga, December, 1776. To Colonel Elias Dayton.

"Nothing new has happened here since my last letter." * * * "Our attention is entirely fixed upon your quarter: there we expect great events has or will take place. I wish to have a share in them. The day before yesterday we had a general Review of the Troops on this side the Lake. Four Regiments were drawn up in a line. They were put through the Manual and several Evolutions. As most of the Firelocks were loaded, we received orders to fire them off by subdivisions in Battalion. The fire went from right and left to the center, our Battalion making the last. Whitcomb's Reg't which was on the right and began the fire behaved awfully. A few Companies in Wood's and Wayne's made out tolerably well. But, Sir, it would have surprised you had you heard the difference when the *Third Jersey Reg't* fired. I assure you we had not one bad fire, and the most were equal to any Platoons amongst the British Regulars. In short, our Regiment gained the Glory of the day by the consent of every Spectator. Col. Wayne with many other of the Pennsylv'a officers applauded us greatly. There are yet many of the Soldiers sick; few I hope dangerously. The officers are all very healthy. As the weather begins to be very cold now, I hope it will grow more wholesome." Etc.

- 157 **Barnes, Abraham.** One of the Delegates from Maryland to the Congress of 1754. (Albany Convention). Document, signed. Folio. September 21, 1769.

Fine specimen, and extremely rare.

- 158 **Barnwell, Robert.** Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Beaufort, April 7, 1790. To Hon. Jacob Read.

On business matters. *Extremely rare.*

- 159 Beatty, John. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Princeton, March 29, 1792. To Mrs. Ann Tatnell.

Relative to the exchange of Captain Tatnell, when a prisoner of war.

* * * "I can only say that it is highly presumptive that Capt. Tatnell, from the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, was not exchanged; but further I am not at liberty to go. I am really sorry that I cannot give you further light and satisfaction on this subject, as I feel a pleasure in advancing the interests of those who were prisoners; for I well know their sufferings were sufficient without the restraining hand of the Public in withholding their just dues." Etc.

- 160 Bedford, Gunning, Jr. Signer of the Constitution of the United States, and Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Document, signed. Half quarto sheet. July 9, 1804.

- 161 Biddle Nicholas. Captain in the Continental Navy in the Revolutionary War. Lost in the Frigate "Randalph." Document, signed. Quarto. May 10, 1769.

The rarest autograph in the Revolutionary naval series.

- 162 Blackwell, John. Colonial Governor of Pennsylvania. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. Boston, May ye 15, 1690. To William Penn, Lord Proprietor of the Province of Pennsylvania and Counties annexed, in America.

"My last was of the 13th of January from Philadelphia, inclosed to my wife for conveyance, wherein I gave you a large account * * * of my delivery of the two Commissions directed to the Provincial Council: wherein also I acquainted you that they had placed the Deputation of the Governm't in themselves." * * * "Touching their proceedings since, I shall say nothing by way of anticipation of their own acco'ts thereof, only, this I understood * * * that the Gent'n of the Lower Countyes seemed willing to knock off from your Constitution, under your friends management. But I shall forbear to give you my weak advisem't upon the observations I have made of the motives or grounds inducing them thereunto, or my owne dissatisfactions therewith" * * * "though I confesse I have much upon my spirit to say with respect to each. But the conclusion you have put to my concernedness therein, and your total silence as to hints of like nature by my former Letters, discourage my present enlarging on that subject, at least for the present, houlding it unseasonable to adde to your present burthens." * * * "S'r, I have gone through like circumstances of Reducem't with yours under God's various providences towards me since 1660; and have been additionally tryed (beyond my strength to beare) in Pennsylvania. But the Lord supported me whilst I got not so much there as would discharge my horses standing, and ran in debt for every bitt of bread I ate; and what I got or could borrow was in such pittifull sums and skantlings, as occasioned a double charge upon me; of which I shall say no more but that, towards the time of my coming away, and after a fruitlesse tryall of all means to get in some part of your Rents for the discharge of my salary, or at least for enabling me to remove, I was constrained to borrow 25 lb. of Rob. Turner, and to give him a bill of 20 lb. English money for the same charged on you at 60 days after sight, to enable me for my journey thence. The like I gave to Griffith Jones for 50 lb more," * * * "this later sum being for my dyet about 5 months with him, and for the use of some part of his house, valued at 31 lb., for the
"time

time I lodged there (for I could have no benefit by the use of yours, or other conveniences, Mr. Markham and your goods from Pennsbury filling it). S'r, I did not think I should have been so used as I found I was." * * * "Now S'r In order to the winding up my bottome with you, I have here inclosed (and also sent to my wife) a copy of my humble demands and expectations for my service on your Commission as Governor; w'ch I conceive is just. The further Incouragem'ts (which were also inducem'ts to me to undertake it), viz't, That of affording me the privilege of your house in Philadelphia; as also, That you doubted not but you should prevayle with your people to make it up at least 100 lb. per annum more (wherein I relyed on your interest). I submit to your generosity; with this only incentive, that I have lost two years time in ye improving my plantation here, besides what I have lost (by my absence) of the improvement I had made before." Etc., etc.

- 163 Bloomfield, Joseph. Major in the Revolutionary War. Governor of New Jersey. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 3 pages. Trenton, November 12, 1778. To Colonel Elias Dayton.

Explaining that the reason why he (Dayton) had not been chosen one of the delegates to represent New Jersey in Congress, was because it was thought unwise to unite a civil with a military appointment; and it was not believed he would resign his command in the army in order to accept the appointment to Congress.

* * * "This I can assure you, that had you been disengaged from the Continental service you would have been elected as unanimous as the two first gentlemen on the list. However, I hope yet to see the time that your *own* and the *Country's* objections in this respect will be happily removed, that you may receive the suffrages and be able to accept of the appointment of representing the good People of this State in the grand Legislature of the Union." * * * "I hope I shall ever continue to merit the friendship and esteem of the worthy Colonel under whose immediate command I have fought and bled in the present glorious contest." Etc., etc.

- 164 Bloomfield, Joseph. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 7 pages. Burlington, February 28, 1789. To Jonathan Dayton.

Giving long and interesting details of the political contest that occurred at the time of the first election held in New Jersey for members of Congress under the new Constitution.

* * * "In order to induce the rigid Quakers to turn out, who heretofore said 'they did not feel a freedom to vote,' the advocates for the junto ticket have raised another story, truly ridiculous indeed, yet serves the purpose for which it is propagated among the uninformed weak part of this Society. 'Come Friend, go to the election and vote for the ticket recommended by the Assembly. Vote for the Federal ticket, the West-Jersey ticket, the Quakers' ticket, recommended by Friends. Come, turn out, oppose the Presbyterian ticket. The Presbyterians want another war. They want another opportunity to distract your goods for pretended Militia duty.'

"The peaceable Quaker says. 'No. I don't feel a freedom. There must excuse me. I never intend to interfere in Government matters. It is against my principles.' 'You don't feel a freedom? You will lose your freedom, your liberty, and your property; nay more, your religion, if you do not. We church people see very clearly these Presbyter's want to rule, and then there will be no other religion suffered in this Country but Presbyterianism, the most arbitrary and tyrannic of all religions. But Dayton and Clarke are bloody men, are men for war. They want another war that they may make their fortunes by distress from the Quakers; and if they get into Congress they will join with the New England Congressmen, and we shall have war and bloodshed immediately. The gentlemen on our West Jersey

"ticket

ticket are good, peaceable men. They will oppose all war measures. Congress will be brought to Philadelphia, maybe to Burlington, and the markets will then be good. We shall have no paper money. Clarke and Dayton was the means of making the present paper trash. They had it made to pay their debts, particularly Clarke.' * * * 'But war is their present scheme, particularly Dayton, who with his father and all his Presbyterian family of the Ogdens have shed a great deal of blood. They all thirst for blood again. Nay, Dayton and Clarke, after having war a while, will if they can hang all the Quakers as they formerly did in New England and as poor Carlile was during the late war in Philad'a in 1778. Elias Boudinot, altho' then a Congressman, pleaded for Carlile and wanted to save his life; but Presbyterian Joe Reed, then Governor, had him hanged, because he was a Quaker, and pardoned all the Presbyterians who were condemned to be hanged also for the same charge as against your friend Carlile, who was a member of your meeting and often visited at Burlington at your quarterly meetings. Lambert Cadwallader's brother wrote a piece against Joe Reed for this conduct. Now your friends Elias Boudinot and Lambert Cadwallader are on this ticket; and also James Schureman, who last fall got the law passed to free the poor negroes, who have all voted for him. As to Sinnickson, the last name in this printed ticket, you know he lives in Salem and that all his family connections are Friends. These are the honest, good men you ought to vote for. But if you want war, and to be persecuted by the Presbyterians, stay at home, and see who will pity you when your goods are distrained and your Meeting-houses are made barracks, as heretofore, for soldiers and men of war.' Much more such stuff is dealt out to the poor Quaker, particularly, that two Scotch Presbyterian *hirelings* are joined in the ticket of Clarke and Dayton—meaning Witherspoon and McWhorter. Upon this, the wife, mother, and all the family cry out, 'Go, go, go to the election, and vote for the printed ticket.' The poor Friend, being alarmed at the situation of his Society, finds 'Freedom,' takes the printed junto ticket, and away he goes, with such of his neighbors as he can influence by telling them the same melancholy tale, to keep out the bloodthirsty Presbyterians, and to prevent war, blood and slaughter." Etc., etc.

- 165 Bloomfield, Joseph. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 3 pages. Trenton, April 12, 1802. To the Vice President of the United States (Aaron Burr), strongly recommending Tench Coxe for appointment to an office under the Government.

* * * "I do not wish to be troublesome or impertinently intrusive in recommending characters; but I will venture to mention the situation and pretensions of Mr. Tench Coxe to the notice of government. The repeal of the internal taxes does away with the office of Collector under the Supervisor, by which Mr. Coxe will be thrown out of the Collector's office for Philadelphia under the appointment of the Supervisor, and in a great measure of the means of supporting a most amiable wife and a large family of children. The defence of our interests against Lord Sheffield, his view of our revenue, his active and zealous promotion of the election of Governor McKean and the late federal and presidential elections, are universally acknowledged, and it is well known that no person has more successfully pursued the investigation of our manufacturing, commercial and agricultural interests than Mr. Coxe." * * * "His banishment in a great measure from his family connections, who have separated themselves from him on account of his sentiments and decided conduct in favor of the cause of Republicanism, I hope will be an inducement to bring him forward again into office. I beg of you to be assured that I have no other interest in writing this letter than a conviction that Mr. Coxe deserves some attention from government; that he be not forgotten, but that his talents and indefatigable industry be usefully employed for the public good." Etc., etc.

- 166 Boudinot, Elias. President of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Camp. September 30, 1777. To Elisha Boudinot.

"I write this by order of his Excellency Gen'l Washington, who begs that you will without a moment's delay, by all ways and means and in every method in your power, immediately engage every Shoemaker in Newark, Eliza'th Town, &c., &c., to deliver you all the shoes in their power, and if possible to work night and day. They shall receive the price given by the Clothier in Philadelphia when last there, unless you can get them cheaper. I know it was $2\frac{1}{2}$ dollars if not three. As you get 100 pair, send them off. The General sets his heart much on this, and desires me to assure you that he will consider himself under a great obligation to you if you will make it a Business, so that he can get some of them without delay. The Magistrates and Militia Officers are desired to assist you. If you should know of any stock of them hoarded up and refused to be sold, let them be seized. The Gen'l limits you only to 5000 pair." Etc.

- 167 Boudinot, Elias. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. Philadelphia, January 5, 1801. To Jonathan Dayton.

Interesting letter in relation to the Presidential election.

* * * "I am extremely apprehensive of the consequences of the equality of votes for a President. I do most sincerely hope the Federalists will act upon principle and observe a dignified and disinterested conduct on this important occasion.

"The Treaty also greatly agitates us in this City. Altho' some objections appear to lye ag't the Treaty or Convention, yet I find the Merchants are generally of opinion that it ought to be ratified, and that a rejection would prove of the most ruinous consequences to trade. They appear to dread the effects of being again afloat. There certainly is at present an immense capital in America, totally unproductive, waiting for some certainty in their political situation to tempt them to launch again on the ocean. When I estimate this at Ten Millions of Dollars in specie, I am confident that I do not exaggerate.

"An attempt to set up a President pro tem. of the Senate to execute the office of President, would be attended with very dangerous effects, at least such as would not justify the experiment. It would rouse the People to revenge themselves, and in a short time would return Mr. Jefferson again with an increased majority. An Interregnum would be destructive to the United States. The only alternative, then, is to make a calm and judicious choice between the two candidates, and let the people try the principle they have chosen to adopt." Etc., etc.

- 168 Bowen, Jabez. Revolutionary Patriot. Delegate to the Annapolis Convention. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Providence, January 12, 1803. To Henry Kuhl.

In relation to the negotiation of a bill.

- 169 Bradstreet, John. British General, distinguished in the French and Indian Wars. Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages, (with a postscript written by Bradstreet). Oswego, May 29, 1755. To Governor Morris.

In relation to the efforts of the French to oppose General Braddock's expedition.

* * * "I am well informed there are more men preparing to set out from Cata-
raque, and others daily expected from Montreal there, and the French are
"using

using all their power and artifice to get as many Indians with them to oppose General Braddock as they possibly can, and openly declare to the Indians they will send the whole force of Canada but they will carry their point." * * * "I have sent an Express with these accounts this day to the General across the Country, and have wrote to the several Governors from New York to Virginia also." Etc., etc.

- 170 Brainerd, David. Celebrated Missionary to the Indians. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages, Woodbury, March 25, 1745. To Rev. John Sergeant.

Interesting letter on the subject of his journeys to the Susquehannah Indians and the Indians of Delaware, his missionary labors among them, etc. *Very rare.*

- 171 Brearley, David. Signer of the Constitution of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. New Brunswick, September 24, 1789. To Jonathan Dayton.

In relation to the efforts of Elias Boudinot to obtain the appointment of United States District Judge for James Kinsey. *A very fine specimen.*

- 172 Broom, Jacob. Signer of the Constitution of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Wilmington, July 16, 1807. To James M. Broom.

* * * "It has been reported here that the President has a list of about 70 persons said to be implicated in the *Burr business*. Your name has been mentioned as one of them." * * * "It gives me no uneasiness, only as it regards the rumor. I am sure there is no foundation for it." * * * "I wish you would communicate to me your ideas as to the result of the negotiations between the two Governments respecting the late outrage. I cannot see how war is to be avoided; for altho' it is most certainly the interest of both nations to preserve peace, yet the outrage being so flagrant and the fighting spirit of the people being so much excited, the satisfaction to be demanded will be proportionate, and of course so much that the British Government will not yield to. It therefore appears to me that war is inevitable." Etc.

Very fine specimen.

- 173 Brown, John. Member of the Continental Congress, from Virginia. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Prince William County, Virginia, April 20, 1785. To John Nicholson.

In relation to the settlement of certain military claims. *Very fine specimen.*

Highly important military paper, asking that General Benedict Arnold be arrested for the crimes therein specified.

- 174 Brown, John. Distinguished Lieutenant-Colonel in the Revolutionary War. Captured Fort Chambly, in 1775. Served at the attack on Quebec, the capture of Fort Ticonderoga, etc. Temporarily retired from the service on account of his detestation of Benedict Arnold. Killed in an ambuscade in the Valley of the Mohawk, in 1780. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 4 pages. Albany, December 2, 1776. To Major-General Horatio Gates.

"In the month of Feb'y last Brigad'r Gen'l Arnold transmitted to the Hon'ble Continental Congress an unjustifiable, false, wicked and malicious accusation against me and my character as an officer in their service at the time when I was under his immediate command. That had there been the least ground for such an accusation the author thereof had it in his power, indeed it was his duty, to have brought me to a fair trial by a general Court Martial in the Country where the pretended crime is said to have originated. That I was left to the necessity of applying to Congress, not only for the Charge given in against me, but an order for a Court of Inquiry on my own Conduct with respect thereto. That in consequence of my application I obtained a positive order of Congress to the then Gen'l Commanding the Northern Department for a Court of Inquiry before whom I might justify my injured character. That the said order was transmitted to your Hon'r at Ticonderoga in the month of Aug't last, and notwithstanding the most ardent solicitation on my part the order of Congress has not yet been complied with. That upon my renewing my application to your Hon'r for a Court of Inquiry you was pleased to refer me to the Board of War. That I have been led an expensive Dance from Generals to Congress and from Congress to Generals, and am now referred to a Board of War who, I will venture to say, have never yet taken cognizance of any such matter; nor do I think it, with great submission to your Hon'r, any part of their duty. I therefore must conclude that this Information, from the mode of its origin, as well as from the repeated evasions of a fair hearing, is now rested on the author's shoulders. I therefore beg your Hon'r will please to order Brigad'r Gen'l Arnold in arrest for the following crimes which I am ready to verify, viz:—

1st. For endeavouring to asperse your Petitioner's character in the most infamous manner.

"2'ly. For unwarrantably degrading and reducing the rank conferred on your Petitioner by his, Gen'l Arnold's, superior officer, and subjecting your Petitioner to serve in an inferior rank to that which he had been appointed to.

"3'ly. For ungentlemanlike conduct in his letter to Gen'l Worster of the 25th of Jan'y last, charging your Petitioner with a falsehood, and in a private manner, which is justly chargeable on himself.

"4'ly. For suffering the small pox to spread in the camp before Quebec and promoting inoculation there in the Continental army.

"5'ly. For depriving a part of the army under his command of their usual allowance of provisions ordered by Congress.

"6'ly. For

"6'ly. For interfering and countermanding the order of his superior officers.

"7'ly. For plundering the inhabitants of Montreal, in direct violation of a solemn capitulation or agreement entered into with them by our late brave and worthy Gen'l Montgomery, to the eternal disgrace of the Continental arms.

"8'ly. For giving unjustifiable, unwarrantable, cruel and bloody orders, directing whole villages to be destroyed, and the inhabitants thereof put to death by fire and sword, without any distinction to Friend or Foe, age or sex.

"9'ly. For entering into an unwarrantable, unjustifiable and partial agreement with Capt. Foster for his exchange of prisoners taken at the Cedars, without the knowledge, advice or consent of any officer then there present with him on the spot.

"10'ly. For ordering inoculation of the Continental army at Sorel without the knowledge of and contrary to the intentions of the Gen'l commanding that Northern Department, by which fatal consequences ensued.

"11'ly. For great misconduct in his command of the Continental Fleet on Lake Champlain, which occasioned the loss thereof.

"12'ly. For great misconduct during his command from the camp at Cambridge in the year 1775 until he was superseded by Gen'l Montgomery at Point aux Tremble near Quebec.

"13'ly. For disobedience of the orders of his superior officers, while acting by a Commission from the Provincial Congress of the Province of Massachusetts Bay; and for disobedience of the orders of a Committee of the same Congress, sent from that State to inspect into his conduct; and also for insulting, abusing and imprisoning the said Committee; as also for a treasonable attempt to make his escape with the Navigation then at or near Ticonderoga to the enemy at St. Johns, which obliged the then commanding officer of Ticonderoga and its dependencies to issue a positive order to the officers commanding our Batteries at Crown Point to stop or sink the vessels attempting to pass that Post, and by force of arms make a prisoner of the said Gen'l Arnold (then a Coll.), which was accordingly done."

On the margin of each charge are given the names of the witnesses who can prove the charge. Among these names will be found General Waterbury, Colonels Hazen, Warner, Antill, Brewer and others.

175 Buchanan, James. President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 4 pages. Washington, January 19, 1827.

* * * "As regards the prospects of General Jackson, they continue to brighten daily." * * * "The opposition, which was necessarily composed of heterogeneous materials, has now become consolidated. We move on with prudence and with concert. No individual in the House of Representatives would venture to commit his party in a party measure upon his sole responsibility. The cry of factious opposition is nearly at an end. No measures emanating from the administration which ought to be supported will be opposed." * * * "In the next Congress we shall have a majority in both Branches; but whether that circumstance will be auspicious or not in its effects is perhaps a matter of doubt." * * * "The friends of General Jackson are generally, I might almost say universally, in favor of limiting the powers of the General Government within the true meaning of the Constitution. They believe that, whatever may have been the case in the origin of our Institutions, there is now much greater danger of consolidation from the increased power and patronage of the General Government than of disunion. They are anxious, therefore, to preserve the State Sovereignties unimpaired. Virginia has always been true to these principles, although in my opinion she has carried her construction too far. New York, from self interest and from a desire that the public Treasury should not be squandered in the West upon roads

"and

and canals before there are people to use them, has recently come out and denied the power of Congress to a great extent over the subject. It will perhaps be the interest of Pennsylvania, as she can expect no aid from the General Government in making her improvements, to pursue the same course. At all events, parties are rapidly forming upon the ancient principles, by whatever new names they may be called. They will develop themselves during the present session. The Adams men generally, whether they have been called federalists or democrats, are ultra federal in the legitimate sense of the word in their Constitutional opinions; whilst, on the other hand, the friends of Jackson pursue the contrary cause." Etc., etc.

- 176 Butler, Pierce. Signer of the Constitution. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. July 10, 1816. To James Monroe, President of the United States.

* * * "When Mr. Erwin, who the President appointed Minister to Spain, was passing through Philadelphia on his way to the Northern States to embark for Europe, he called on Col. Duane. After sitting a little time, he asked Col. Duane what part he intended taking in the approaching Presidential election. The latter not answering immediately, he, Erwin, said: 'I hope you mean to be with us,' 'Who are us?' asked D. 'Mr. Gallatin, many Republican members of Congress, myself, and many of the most respectable men in the State of New York intend to support Mr. Crawford. He is a firm man, and much fitter than Mr. Monroe.' Mr. D. replied, 'Mr. Crawford is a public man of yesterday, not known by the citizens generally. Mr. Monroe has served the country in different stations for more than thirty years. I think him more deserving of public confidence than Mr. C., and I believe this is a very general opinion. It is my own opinion.' After a pause, Mr. E. retired. When Gallatin found there was no prospect of his candidate succeeding, Mr. Duane told me that he went from New York to Washington to assure you that he took no part in the nomination of Mr. Crawford." * * * "I have no objection to Mr. Gallatin seeing and reading this letter. My opinion of him has long been settled. I think the Country dishonored in sending him Minister to France."

- 177 Campbell, Alexander. Theologian, and founder of the Sect called "Campbellites," or "Disciples of Christ." Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 4 pages.

* * * "No Sect can endure a Reformer, and those in authority cannot be taught anything more than they know: and he that would only create a suspicion that everything is not just perfect becomes thenceforth a dangerous brother, and it becomes a matter of righteous policy that one man should perish rather than the whole nation should be endangered. It is an honor to which few, indeed none but the high-minded and free-born sons of the Kingdom, can aspire—to suffer shame or reproach for the sake of the name or authority of the Lord Jesus. All this I have experienced; and I have been personally acquainted, both in Britain and in Ireland, with the first men in point of talents, erudition, and moral standing in the Presbyterian Church, who have had to suffer reproach and to withdraw from the pale of that Church for thinking, and sometimes hinting, that the church was not exactly up to the model of the New Testament. Amongst my most intimate acquaintance of this sort was Greville Ewing and Ralph Wardlaw in Glasgow: Alexander Carson and Mr. Hamilton of Ireland: men who have, or had, no superiors in piety, literature, or high standing in their respective vicinities. Yet these all became heretics or schismatics. It is a dangerous thing to examine the Scriptures, dangerous even to the teachers of Christianity: for so sure as they devoutly examine them, just to know whether these things are so, so certainly they begin to totter in their own minds and tumble in the public esteem. However, I have believed the reward of such was great in the Reign of Heaven, and I have seen it great even in the present state of things." Etc.

- 178 Caswell, Richard. Member of the Federal Convention, the Continental Congress, etc. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. North Carolina, January 12, 1787. To the Governor of Pennsylvania.

In relation to the appointment of delegates to the proposed Federal Convention.

"Inclosed you will be pleased to receive an Act of the Legislature of this State for appointing Deputies to a Convention proposed to be held in the City of Philadelphia in May next, for the purpose of revising the Federal Constitution. Our General Assembly were induced to pass this Act in full expectation that the several States in the Union would co-operate with us in this desirable object."

- 179 Chase, Samuel. Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Autograph Document, signed. Small quarto. January 1, 1803.

Order for the payment of his salary as a Justice of the Supreme Court of the U. S. *Fine specimen, with full signature.*

- 180 Clinton, George. Brigadier-General in the Revolutionary War. Vice-President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 3 pages. New York, December 20, 1794. To Citizen James Monroe, Minister to the Republic of France.

"I take the liberty of enclosing to your care a letter from Citizen Genet to his sister, Mrs. Rousseau, and to request that you will be so obliging as to secure it a speedy and safe conveyance to her. The place of her residence I am informed is but four leagues from Paris. Mr. Genet was lately married to my second daughter, and as I presume this letter is to announce that event to his family, I feel an interest in its safe conveyance. It would be a great gratification to me to be informed of their situation, and also how he stands with the present Rulers of the Republic. He has often mentioned to me Roux Fazillac, Gregoire, Freron and Romme, in the Convention, and Rosentsteel in the Department of Foreign Affairs, as his particular friends; but what their characters and influence are, I know not." * * * "Soon after the commencement of the present Session of Congress, the Secretary of the Treasury notified the House of Representatives of his intention to resign the last of next month. His friends give out that he was reduced to the necessity of doing so from the incompetency of his salary, and that he intends resuming the practice of the law in this city; while others allege that he was influenced by the returns of the late elections of Members for the next Congress, a decided majority of whom will certainly be unfavourable to his system of Politics." Etc.

- 181 Clymer, George. Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Autograph Document, signed. Quarto. April 18, 1776.

"The Sub-committee appointed to consider what further defences are necessary for the River, agree in opinion that a floating Battery of a similar or nearly similar construction with the one now in service be immediately built, not doubting but the Committee, from their different contracts, will be speedily supplied with a sufficient number of suitable cannon to mount thereon." Etc.

Also signed by David Rittenhouse, Samuel Miles, and Owen Biddle,

- 182 **Clymer, George.** Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. April 26, 1792. To General Hand.

In relation to an appointment.

- 183 **Collinson, Peter.** English merchant and distinguished naturalist. Franklin's first essays on electricity were originally communicated to him. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. London, June 14, 1748. To Benjamin Franklin.

Introducing Mr. Kalm, a Swedish naturalist, "who visits America for the purpose of improving himself in all Natural Inquiries"; and recommending him to Franklin's favor and notice.

- 184 **Contee, Benjamin.** Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Baltimore, August 28, 1787.

On business matters. *Exceedingly rare.*

- 185 **Cooper, J. Fenimore.** Celebrated novelist. Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo. 3 pages. December 30, 1831. To Carey and Lea.

"I hope you will be wrong in anticipating a bad reception for Bravo. I cannot tell you much of its reception in Europe, though Gosselin says it is very decidedly successful in France; more so, by his account, than any of its predecessors." * * * "America is, of all countries, one of the least favorable to all sorts of works of the imagination. In Europe, or rather in England, where there has existed a necessity of accounting for some success in the very teeth of their prejudices and wishes, it has been the fashion to say that no writer ever enjoyed so favorable an opportunity as I, because I am an American and a sailor. As to the sailor part of the business, it is grossly absurd; for what advantage has an American sailor over any other? They know the falsehood of what they say in this respect, for I can get £ 3000 for a nautical tale that shall celebrate English skill to-morrow." * * * "Why has not Scott tried his hand with these fertile materials?" * * * "He has not tried, because he is a master in his art, and he knows what to touch and what to let alone. For myself, I can write two European stories easier than I can write one American, and they shall be better and more interesting too. Why, Europe itself is a romance, while all America is a matter of fact, humdrum, common-sense region from Quaddy to Cape Florida." * * * "Heidenmauer is in press, and I will send you a few chapters by the packet of the 20th of January. Heaven knows whether it will suit you or not, for I begin to distrust my ability to please gentlemen so exquisitely critical." Etc.

- 186 **Cumming, John N.** Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second New Jersey Regiment in the Revolutionary War. Document signed. Folio. Also signed by Luther Halsey, Adjutant.

List of the officers of the 2nd New Jersey Regiment, with the dates of their commissions.

- 187 **Cushing, William.** Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Scituate, July 29, 1806.

Relative to the payment of his salary.

- 188 Dawson, John. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. New York, September 19, 1802. To Fulwar Skipwith.

"On yesterday I was informed of your wise conduct in taking to your bosom the woman of your heart." * * * "If you see any of our federal papers, your indignation must be excited at the illiberal abuse poured forth against the administration of our Country. Notwithstanding which its popularity is as great as that of any administration ought to be, and its continuance in office certain with the present temper of the times. Pennsylvania and all south and west thereof are decidedly with us, and we have good grounds to count on the States of New Jersey, Vermont, and R. Island. Their elections have been favourable. In N. Hampshire and Massachusetts we have very strong and active minorities." * * * "I have been here for three days, and shall return to Virginia in eight. By the first of December I shall be at Washington." Etc., etc.

Rare.

- 189 Dayton, Jonathan. Signer of the Constitution of the United States, member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Washington, January 21, 1801. To Colonel Aaron Ogden.

A very remarkable letter in relation to the appointment of John Marshall to the office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

"I was yesterday again mortified at another improper nomination by the President, of Gen'l Marshall, our present Sec'y of State, for Chief Justice of the U. S. to the exclusion of our friend Judge Paterson, whose pretensions to it are acknowledged by all to have been infinitely superior. Such was the effect produced by it in the Senate that, notwithstanding our respect for Mr. Marshall, we should unquestionably put our negative upon this nomination if it were certain that Judge Paterson would be the next proposed. But on the other hand there is reason to apprehend that some character may then be selected by our strange President more improper and more disgusting to the bench. The decision upon the nomination of L. H. Stockton for Sec'y of War has been postponed until I can get his answer, which it is hoped will be such as to induce the President to withdraw it and give us some other. All which I foretold to you last summer respecting Mr. Adams is verified. His whole conduct during the present Session has been so strange and absurd, that the Federalists among us, almost without an exception, rejoice that he was not reelected. He would, as far as it was possible for one man to do so, have brought disgrace upon our party and ruin upon our country." Etc., etc.

- 190 De Lancey, Oliver. Colonel of a New York Regiment, under General Abercromby, in the French and Indian War. Distinguished for his gallantry. Brigadier-General in the Royal Service during the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. New York, February 29, 1774. To Major-General Bradstreet.

In relation to surveys of lands.

- 191 Dickinson, Jonathan. Eminent clergyman. First president of the College of New Jersey (Princeton). Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. January 22, 1738-9.

"A memorandum of what the wife of Jonathan Woodruffe desired should be the disposal and division of what estate shall be left by her, if it should please God to take her out of the world."

Very rare.

- 192 **Duane, James. Signer of the Articles of Confederation.**
Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. Signed as Mayor of New York.

The address of the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the City of New York to the Honorable Frederick William, Baron de Steuben, late Major-General and Inspector-General of the Armies of the United States of America, presenting him with the *Freedom of the City*, in recognition of the important military services rendered by him during the Revolutionary War.

- 193 **Duer, William. Signer of the Articles of Confederation.**
Letter signed. Folio. Fishkill, October 11, 1776. To the Council of Safety of the State of Pennsylvania.

"I am directed by the Committee appointed by the Convention of this State for inquiring into, detecting and defeating all Conspiracies formed in the State of New York against the Liberties of America, to inform you that they have sent into your State thirty-three Prisoners, most of whom are charged with treasonable Practices against the State, and the others too dangerous to be suffered to remain within the same in its present critical situation. This committee lament the necessity which obliged them to trouble their sister State with Persons of this stamp; but they trust that the peculiar and dangerous situation which the State of New York is in at present will apologize for a measure dictated by the most cruel necessity." * * * "In full confidence that the usual zeal which the State of Pennsylvania has always shown to promote the public Cause will be extended to this suffering State," etc.

- 194 **Dunmore, John Murray, Earl. Colonial Governor of New York, and of Virginia.** Letter signed. Folio. 7 pages. Williamsburg, May 26, 1774. To James Tilghman and Andrew Allen.

Long and interesting letter on the subject of the Western boundaries of Pennsylvania and Virginia, the territory in dispute between these two Colonies, etc.

The letter concludes thus:—"I join with you in concern that we should differ so widely in conception of the extent of Pennsylvania as it effects Virginia, but must confess that your objections have not altered my opinion of the construction of your Grant, notwithstanding you are so confident of being supported in yours. However, I am less anxious about the issue of these different opinions than I am about the effects of them in the meantime. Your proposals, amounting in reality to nothing, could not possibly be complied with, and your resolution with respect to Fort Pitt (the jurisdiction over which place, I must tell you, at all events will not be relinquished by this Government without His Majesty's orders) puts an entire stop to further treaty, and makes me sincerely lament that you have put it out of my power to contribute to reestablish the peace and harmony of both Colonies and to evince my good intentions as well towards the one as the other."

- 195 **Eden, Sir Robert. Colonial Governor of Maryland.**
Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Clarges Street, Piccadilly, April 17, 1778.

Interesting letter to General Washington, introducing his brother, William Eden, one of the three Commissioners sent by Lord North to treat with the Americans.

"Notwithstanding the different parts, Sir, that we have taken in the unhappy differences still subsisting between Great Britain and America, I flatter myself

myself there yet remains a mutual share of esteem between your Excellency and me; and I hope you do me the justice to think that should the Commissioners, by whom I have the honour of sending this, be fortunate enough to accomplish a Reconciliation, it will give me the highest pleasure. When I inform your Exc'y that my brother, Wm. Eden, whom I have a very great regard for, is one of them, I have no doubt of his meeting with all the civilities as you, in your station, can offer, or he, in his, desire. You may believe me when I assure you that he heartily wishes success to his undertaking, and that you will find in him as much candour and probity as you could desire in a person you will probably have to treat with. He will assure you that I have endeavoured at all times to do justice to your character, and that I shall be happy in meeting your Exc'y again on the same free and friendly terms we formerly lived. I beg my compliments may be offered to Mrs. Washington and Mr. and Mrs. Custis," etc.

- 196 Elliott, Jesse Duncan. Commodore United States Navy. Highly distinguished in the War of 1812. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. West Chester, February 27, 1844. To Hon. John C. Spencer.

Interesting letter in relation to the sword and medal voted him by the State of Pennsylvania; the accurate oil paintings of the battle of Lake Erie, which he has had made for, and has given to that State, etc.

- 197 Elliott, Jesse Duncan. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Westchester, March 9, 1844. To Hon. John C. Spencer.

"It seems the measure of my wrongs is never to cease filling. Here is another junior officer nominated to a position I had solicited. I had hoped that, with my restoration, I would have been placed by the side of those who had been my companions in arms." * * * "I certainly have never done Mr. Tyler wrong; for when called on by my early companions at school to account for more than a quarter of a century of my life, I did him no wrong, but the reverse." Etc. etc.

- 198 Elmer, Ebenezer. Surgeon in the Revolutionary War. The last surviving Revolutionary Officer of New Jersey. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 3 pages. Washington City, December 11, 1801.

"The President's Message is exactly what I expected; and will, I believe, be the basis of legislation this session. The manner of his communicating, and the true Republicanism therein contained, and by no means pleasing to a minority; but on most of the subjects they will probably be moderate in opposition. It is however difficult as yet to say what part they will take in a great deal of the business. Indeed the weight of a number of new Republican members will probably impose some awe on the adverse party." * * * "The plot of the City of Washington, and the scattered situation and structure of the public buildings, appear to me to be marked with extreme extravagance and folly. The President's House and public offices are a full mile apart from the Capitol, and a considerable ravine between; the road through which has already cost a great deal of money. The Capitol is on a plan that will never perhaps be completed, and the President's House is of an era too great by one half. The City is so large that it will not be filled up with buildings in 500 years, and even if it should the public buildings will still be inconveniently situated." Etc., etc.

- 199 Elmer, Jonathan. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Bridge-ton, November 2, 1789. To Charles Jarvis.

A very fine letter on business subjects.

- 200 **Episcopal Church. Bishops of the.** Letter to the President of the United States (Abraham Lincoln), dated New York, October 11, 1862, and signed by Bishops B. B. Smith, Charles P. McIlvaine, Samuel A. McCoskry, Jackson Kemper, Alfred Lee, Manton Eastburn, Carlton Chase, Alonzo Potter, George Burgess, Henry W. Lee, Thomas M. Clark, G. T. Bedell, Joseph C. Talbot and William Bacon Stevens.

"The Subscribers, Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, desire to express to your Excellency their sympathy with you in the anxious and most responsible cares with which you are loaded, and the profound interest with which they regard the effort now making to preserve the unity of the Nation and to restore everywhere its constitutional authority. They have evidence that you recognize an Overruling Providence, and they believe that, with them, you feel that without the guidance and blessing of that Providence the most stupendous armaments and the mightiest efforts of human wisdom and strength, whether in council or in the field, may be entirely in vain. As a people we have, too often, forgotten that the Lord reigns, and by our unmeasured self confidence as well as by our grievous national sins have provoked Him to anger. The subscribers, then, would venture to suggest that the appointment, this year as last, of a day on which the whole people can humble themselves before God, and, suspending their usual avocations, can devote themselves, in public and private, to acts of Supplication, would be acceptable throughout the land and would draw down blessings from the Most High."

- 201 **Estaing, Charles Hector Theodat, Comte d'.** Celebrated French naval officer. Commanded the fleet sent to aid the Americans during the Revolutionary War. Autograph Document, signed. Folio.

Statement of the Services of Vicomte de Bethisy, Second Colonel of the Regiment of Gatinois, who was distinguished at the siege of Savannah. *Very fine specimen. Rare.*

- 202 **Evans, John.** Member of the Continental Congress. Letter signed. Half quarto sheet. April 28, 1781. To David Rittenhouse.

Request for the payment of traveling charges of William A. Atlee, as a Judge of the Supreme Court. The letter is in the handwriting of, and is also signed by Thomas McKean, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. *Rare.*

- 203 **Fanning, Edmund.** Noted Tory partisan in the Revolutionary War, and commander of the corps of loyalists known as "the King's American Regiment." Document, signed. Folio. 3 pages.

- 204 **Fitch, John.** Inventor and builder of the first steamboat in America. Document, signed. Quarto. February 19, 1784.

Receipt for Jonathan D. Sergeant's subscription to the "Surveys Over Ohio."

- 205 **Fitzsimmons, Thomas.** Signer of the Constitution of the United States. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. February 17, 1785. To the President and Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

"The capture of an American vessel by the Corsairs of Barbary gives this Committee real and just apprehensions of future depredations on our trade from the same quarter. Upon an occasion so extremely important, it is the duty of this Committee to intreat that Council will represent to Congress the necessity of endeavoring speedily to conciliate the States of Barbary to us by presents, as is practised by most of the Commercial Nations in Europe, or by treaties to be entered-into with them, as shall be deemed expedient by the wisdom of that Body." Etc., etc.

The letter is also signed by George Clymer (signer of the Declaration of Independence), Tench Coxe, Colonel John Nixon, and some others.

- 206 **Franklin, Benjamin.** Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Document, signed. May 11, 1741.

Agreement of the subscribers, Directors of the Library Company, to attend the appointed meetings; and that every one failing to do so will pay to the rest one shilling.

Also signed by Samuel Rhoads (member of the Continental Congress), and other directors.

- 207 **Franklin, Benjamin.** Autograph Document, signed. Folio. August 15, 1787. To the Secretary of Council.

A direction, signed by Franklin, as President of the Supreme Executive Council, for the issuing of a commission. *Very fine specimen.*

- 208 **Franklin, Benjamin.** Letter, signed. Folio. 3 pages. Passy, April 10, 1788. To Monsieur Dumas.

Also signed by Arthur Lee.

* * * "We have now the pleasure of acquainting you that Mr. John Adams; a member of Congress, appointed to succeed Mr. Deane in this commission, is safely arrived here. He came over in the Boston, a Frigate of 30 guns belonging to the United States. In the passage they met and made prize of a large English Letter of Marque ship of 14 guns, the Martha, bound to New York, on whose cargo 70,000 £. sterling was insured in London. It contains abundance of necessaries for America, whither she is dispatched, and we hope will get well in to one of our Ports. Mr. Adams acquaints us that it had been moved in Congress to send a Minister to Holland, but that altho' there was the best disposition towards that country, and desire to have and maintain a good understanding with their High Mightinesses and a free commerce with their subjects, the measure was respectfully postponed for the present 'till their sentiments on it could be known, from an apprehension that possibly their connections with England might make the receiving an American Minister as yet inconvenient and (if Holland should have the same Good Will towards us) a little embarrassing. Perhaps as our Independency begins to wear the appearance of greater stability since our acknowledg'd alliance with France, that difficulty may be lessened. Of this we wish you would take the most prudent methods privately to inform yourself. It seems clearly to be the interest of Holland to share in the rapidly growing commerce of her young Sister Republick; and as in the Love of Liberty, and Bravery in the Defence of it, she has been our great Example, we hope circumstances and Constitutions in many respects so similar, may produce mutual Benevolence; and that the unfavourable impressions made on the minds

"of some

of some in America by the rigor with which supplies of arms and ammunition were refused them in their Distress, may soon be worn off and obliterated by a friendly intercourse and reciprocal good offices. When Mr. Adams left America, which was about the middle of Feb'y, our affairs were daily improving, our troops well supply'd with arms and provisions and in good order; and the army of General Burgoyne being detained for Breaches of the capitulation, we had in our hands above 10,000 prisoners of the enemy."

- 209 **Franklin, William.** Colonial Governor of New Jersey. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 4 pages. Burlington, January 5, 1771.

A very fine letter, in relation to lands, etc.

- 210 **Gage, Thomas.** British General in the French and Indian War, and the Revolutionary War. Colonial Governor of Massachusetts. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. New York, June 9, 1764. To Major-General Monckton.

* * * "The young gentleman you are pleased to recommend is a very proper object to claim the protection of every military person who may have it in his power to serve him. The father's services to his country surely merit a consideration for his children, and more particularly so when left destitute of support, which by your letter I find is the case with Gen'l Prideaux's family; which I am really concerned at." * * * "I am sorry for the loss of my old friend Gen'l Barrington. It seems he had been a long time in a declining state of health, from frequent attacks of the Gout, and I believe too high living." * * * "The Duty's laid upon imports, and the talk of Internal Taxes, you will believe are not pleasing to the Americans." Etc.

- 211 **Gaine, Hugh.** Printer and bookseller. Publisher of the "New York Mercury," which supported the Royal cause in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. New York, December 14, 1785. To Honorable John Van Ness.

On business matters.

- 212 **Genet, Edmond Charles.** Minister from the French Republic to the United States. Married a daughter of General George Clinton. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 7 pages. Albany, January 15, 1826.

Long and interesting letter on scientific subjects, in which he explains a number of his inventions and discoveries, and particularly enlarges upon the practicability of exploring the Polar regions in aerial vessels.

- 213 **George I., King of England.** Letter, signed. Folio. February 7, 1723-4. To William Burnet, Governor of New Jersey.

Informing him of the appointment of James Alexander as Attorney General of the Province of New Jersey.

- 214 **Gist, Mordecai.** Brigadier-General in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Baltimore, April 29, 1777. To William Smith, member of Congress.

* * * "By a letter from Colonel Ramsey I find that the evil genius of some individuals has prompted them to vent their spleen and ill nature in a most unmanly way, by propagating a report of my having wrote to Congress and General Washington, refusing for particular purposes to march to camp, which the General considered as a resignation." * * * "I am truly conscious that no action or conduct of mine can give a sanction to such report with the least plausibility of truth; and can assure you I never in my life had the honour to address Congress or General Washington by letter on any subject whatever, except a few lines to Mr. Hancock." * * * "Your knowledge of me for a considerable term of years has not only made you acquainted with my principles and attachment to my country, but also given you an idea of my business in trade, and of the unsettled manner I was under the necessity of leaving my books, both here and on the Eastern Shore, when under marching orders for camp last year." * * * "Private interest shall give way to Public good, and the service of my country shall engage my attention in preference to every other consideration." Etc., etc.

- 215 **Gordon, Patrick.** Colonial Governor of Pennsylvania. Document, signed. Folio. Philadelphia, March 4, 1732.

Order for administering the oath of office to the persons appointed Justices of the Court of Common Pleas.

- 216 **Grant, James.** Noted British General in the Revolutionary War. Document, signed. Octavo. (Signed as Major-General). December 12, 1776.

Certificate that Daniel Howell has taken the oath agreeable to the Proclamation of November 30, 1776.

- 217 **Grayson, William.** Member of the Continental Congress, and Aide to General Washington. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 4 pages. Dumfries, March 30, 1781.

In relation to the cession by Virginia of the Western territory, etc.

- 218 **Greene, Christopher.** Distinguished Colonel in the Revolutionary War. Celebrated for his defense of Fort Mercer and his defeat of the Hessians under Count Donop. Killed by a party of loyalists in 1781. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Newport, October 11, 1780. To Colonel Ward.

On Military affairs. Good specimen, and *extremely rare*.

- 219 **Gunn, James.** Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto, 3 pages. October 23. To Seaborn Jones.

Rare.

- 220 Hale, Nathan. Captain in the Revolutionary War. Executed by the British as a spy, September 22, 1776. *Endorsement of two lines, in his handwriting*, on a letter written to him by Benjamin Tallmadge (afterwards Colonel and Aide to Washington), dated Wethersfield, July 4, 1774.

"Friend Hale. How do you do this cold weather? I should be very glad to have some direct news from you, I do assure you; for by the last accounts you was all over (head and heels) in love. Now if you did not get stifled in the *scrape*, I should be very glad to know of it. I can say, as an Irishman has said before me, 'I know you are not dead, for if you was you would have sent me word before now.' " Etc., etc.

Interesting and extremely rare.

- 221 Hamilton, Alexander. Signer of the Constitution of the United States. Secretary of the Treasury. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. June 30, 1792. To Colonel Benjamin Walker.

Very fine specimen. On matters of business.

- 222 Hamilton, Alexander. Letter, signed. Quarto. Treasury Department, February 14, 1792.

On business of the Department.

- 223 Hamilton, Elizabeth. Wife of Alexander Hamilton, and daughter of General Philip Schuyler. Autograph Document, signed. Octavo. Philadelphia, December 1, 1794.

Order for payment of money. *Rare.*

- 224 Hand, Edward. Brigadier-General in the Revolutionary War. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. Fort Pitt, November 1, 1777. To Colonel Archibald Lochry.

Interesting military letter.

"I hope before now that you have received my letter from Fort Henry, intimating that as I was uncertain what succour I might be able to draw from Yohogania, Monongalia, Ohio, and your Counties, I beg'd to meet the Commanding officers of those Counties at this Place this day, in order to have their positive ans'r; and, in case of the impracticability of an Expedition, to consult with them on the most advisable mode of Defence untill we can be better prepared. I therefore most Earnestly Entreat you to come up here as speedily as possible, and if convenient bring with you Col's Proctor and Smith and any other officers you think propper. I am just arrived from Wheeling in consequence of my appointment, and assure you never was in better spirits, as I can assure you that Gen'l Burgoyne and the survivors of his Army are Prisoners, and expect that Gen'l Howe will shortly be in the same situation. Gen'l Potter with the Cumberland Militia attacked 1000 Hessians on their march from Philad'a to Chester with baggage, killed some, took 300 Prisoners, and seized all the baggage and 13 pieces of Brass Artillery." Etc.

- 225 **Hardy, Sir Charles.** Colonial Governor of New York. Second in command at the taking of Louisburg in 1758. Letter, signed. Folio. New York, September 5, 1755. To Governor Morris.

Informing him of his (Hardy's) appointment as Governor of New York, and advising that the several Governors on the Continent shall maintain an exact correspondence with each other, etc.

- 226 **Harrison, Benjamin.** Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Berkeley, April 1, 1789. To Colonel Meriwether.

Recommending certain gentlemen for appointment as horse officers from Berkeley County.

Fine specimen.

- 227 **Harrison, Benjamin.** Letter, signed. Folio. March 22, 1782. To the Governor of Pennsylvania.

"The Executive of this State agree to your proposal of running a temporary Line between this State and yours, to serve as a boundary till the States shall be in more tranquility and better circumstances to encounter the expense that will attend the final settlement of it, and have no doubt but the Assembly at its meeting in May will concur with them in the measure. A Commissioner shall be appointed to meet yours at the time fixed on, with explicit orders to proceed on the business, it not being the practice of the Executive of this State to act with Duplicity on any occasion. Why Mr. Madison did not proceed in the business I do not certainly know, tho' I have heard he was prevented by some of the inhabitants of that Country. The Commissioner will be directed to begin the Line at the extremity of the Line betwixt your State and that of Maryland, to which I suppose you can have no objections." Etc.

- 228 **Harrison, William Henry.** President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Vincennes, September 29, 1804. To the Cashier of the Bank of the United States.

Requesting that part of his salary (as Governor of the Northwestern Territory) be paid to William Bullitt & Co.

- 229 **Hart, John.** Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Document, signed. Half quarto sheet. Hadonfield, June 3, 1777.

Order (signed as Speaker of the House) on the treasurer, for paying Captain Lewis' account of expenses in bringing up thirty-six prisoners from Frederick Town to Salem. *Beautiful specimen of a rare autograph.*

- 230 **Hawley, Gideon.** Missionary to the Mohawk, Iroquois, and other Indian tribes. Chaplain of Colonel Gridley's regiment in the French and Indian War. Pastor of the Indian tribes at Marshpee, Massachusetts. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 4 pages. Marshpee, December 31, 1770. To the Honorable Dr. Nathaniel Freeman.

Long and interesting letter in relation to the longevity of the Indians, narrating many special instances.

- 231 **Heintzelman, Samuel P.** Distinguished Major-General in the Civil War. Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo. 3 pages. Washington, December 13, 1874.
Interesting letter on matters relating to the war.
- 232 **Herkimer, Nicholas.** Noted Brigadier-General of New York militia in the Revolutionary War. Died of wounds received in the battle of Oriskany. Letter, signed. Folio. Conajohary, May 22, 1777. To Major-General Gates.
In relation to the delivery of powder, lead, and flints for his use. *Fine specimen, and extremely rare.*
- 233 **Higginson, Stephen.** Member of the Continental Congress, and delegate to the Annapolis Convention. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Boston, March 26, 1791.
On business matters.
- 234 **Hindman, William.** Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. Talbot County, February 5, 1776. To the Council of Safety of Maryland.
Urging the appointment of William Frazier as a lieutenant. *Very fine specimen. Scarce.*
- 235 **Hogun, James.** Brigadier-General in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. Baltimore, January 1, 1779. To Colonel H. Hollingsworth.
"I have just leisure enough before Marching this morning to admit my answering your favour of the 29th ult. I return you my sincere thanks for your care and assiduity for which the whole of your conduct with respect to my Brigade on the march has been remarkable. Your Waggon is all discharged at this Post, our own having Join'd us, by which I hope to make a Steady march by Land to the Southard, finding it impracticable to take Transports at Annapolis. The Brigade is just now put under march, and must conclude with wishes for your health." Etc.
Very rare.
- 236 **Hopkins, Samuel.** Celebrated theologian. Founder of the "Hopkinsian" system of divinity. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Newport, March 6, 1792. To Rev. Levi Hart.
In relation to the proposed publication of one of his works.
- 237 **Hopkinson, Francis.** Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. August 11, 1780. To Matthew Clarkson.
In relation to selling prize goods at public vendue. *Fine specimen.*

- 238 **Houston, William Churchill.** Signer of the Articles of Confederation. Autograph Document, signed. Folio. 6 pages. Trenton, March 17, 1784.

Interesting paper, discussing the question "whether the Liberty of the Press ought to extend so far as to justify the publishing of the name of a person, with strictures on his conduct, by an anonymous author or with a fictitious signature."

- 239 **Howe, Robert.** Major-General in the Revolutionary War. Letter, signed, Quarto. Charles Town, South Carolina, October 9, 1778. To Hon. Henry Laurens.

"I am just this moment informed that a motion has been made and carried in the Committee 'that I should be recalled from hence'; that to add to the anxiety which I must feel at being called away when Service is likely to progress here, the motion for removing me was made by a Member of Congress, immediately preceeding those for Troops to be sent up to the support of this place; as if I was not worthy of being employed where Honor was to be obtained. Think, Sir, the undeserved mortification I must feel upon an occasion like this. And can Congress suffer it to be inflicted upon me! Have I not sacrificed my Fortune and peace to the Service of my Country! Have I not, by the most unwearied diligence and with a zeal which at least has some merit, attended to the duties of my Station, and by my every effort endeavored to do my Duty! And shall I, after being kept against my wish from the scene of immediate Action, be recalled at that moment when this Country is likely to become the Scene of it? How, Sir, have I deserved this disgrace? I am conscious I have not, and therefore can never believe that Congress can consent to sacrifice so faithfull a servant! Upon you, Sir, I rely, upon your friendship I call, to avert from me so unexpected, so undeserved, and so inexpressible a mortification and disgrace, which from my inmost Soul I assert I have not deserved." Etc.

- 240 **Howell, David.** Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 3 pages. Philadelphia, October 9, 1782. To Hon. Welcome Arnold.

Interesting letter, written from Congress.

* * * "I expect Congress will demand a Categorical answer from the State in regard to the Impost at next session of Assembly. I cannot doubt but it will be given with firmness." * * * "Should the Impost be adopted, which God forbid, I should no longer suppose myself the Representative of a Sovereign and Free State; but wish to be recalled by the same act, and sink into my former retirement on my little place where I have spent the pleasantest part of my days. You cannot take too much pains in giving the members of the House due information previous to the important vote being put, which is to decide the fate of the Liberties not of one State only but of 13, and that not only for the present generation but for all posterity." * * * "Could credit, public and private, for both in a certain respect depend on Government, be restored, it would be easy to carry on the war by credit and moderate taxes without an Impost." Etc., etc.

- 241 **Howell, Richard.** Major of the Second New Jersey Regiment, which he commanded from 1776 to 1779. Governor of New Jersey. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Trenton, July 25, 1794. To A. J. Dallas.

Relative to copies of the laws of New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

- 242 **Humpton Richard.** Brevet Brigadier-General in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. Philadelphia, March 2, 1777. To Major General Gates.

Suggesting a plan for forming a regiment of Grenadiers (to be called the Grenadiers of the United States), giving details of the method of formation, begging the favor of Gates's interest with General Washington to secure the success of the plan, and asking that he (Humpton) should be honored with the command of the regiment.

- 243 **Hunter, David.** Major-General in the Civil War. Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo. (Signed "your husband.") 8 pages, Port Royal, April 15. To his wife.

* * * "This day week we went for the second time to Tybee Island, expecting to open fire on Wednesday, the 9th; but finding things not quite ready, I postponed it to the 10th." * * * "The fall of Pulaski is going to make quite a change in the notions of our old fogies with regard to the value of our old forts. Col. Totten wrote Gen. Gilmore that to breach the wall from Tybee Island, our nearest battery being near a mile off, was *simply impossible*, and that the ammunition would be completely wasted. Other great engineers expressed the same opinion. Gen. Robert E. Lee, of the Rebel Army, wrote Col. Olmstead, the Rebel commander of the Fort, that we might fill up the interior of the Fort with iron from our mortars, but that he might rest content we could never breach his walls." * * * "Commodore Dupont and myself are getting on nicely. I invited him to send us a hundred men to assist in manning our batteries at Pulaski, and this pleased them very much. On my return, they had all their men up in the rigging, to cheer us as we passed." Etc., etc.

- 244 **Huntington, Samuel.** President of the Continental Congress. Letter signed. Folio. 3 pages. In Congress, May 19, 1780. To General Joseph Reed.

Informing him that the King of France is preparing to send a powerful naval and land force to the assistance of the Americans; urging the necessity for speedily furnishing the requisitions of Congress, etc., etc.

"Congress have received authentic information that his most Christian Majesty is preparing to send a powerful Naval and Land force to some part of the Continent of North America. This force, generously calculated either to produce a diversion in our favor, or to forward the operation of our arms by being directed to the same object, may either by our exertions be made the means of delivering our country in the course of the campaign from the ravages of war, or, being rendered ineffectual through our supineness, serve only to sully the reputation of our arms, to defeat the benevolent intention of our great ally, and to disgrace our Confederacy in the eyes of all Europe." * * * "The military departments are at a stand for the want of money to put them in motion. Congress have no resources but in your spirit and virtue. Upon these they confidently rely. You know the value of the prize for which you contend, nor need you be informed how much you are interested in a speedy termination of this distressing and expensive war." Etc.

- 245 **Hutchins, Thomas.** Assistant engineer in Bouquet's expedition in 1764. Geographer-general of the American Army in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. Fort Chartres, September 13, 1770. To George Morgan.

- 246 Irvine, William. Brigadier-General in the Revolutionary War. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. March 17, 1782. To William Moore, President of Pennsylvania.

In relation to means for preventing British deserters and prisoners from entering the Continental service. *Very fine specimen.*

- 247 Izard, Ralph. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 12 pages. Charleston, October 12, 1795. To Honorable Mr. Read.

* * * "I am sorry that the principle of free ships making free goods was not admitted in the Treaty, and that an explicit declaration was not obtained to prevent provisions from capture, except when bound to a blockaded port. I know what Vattel and the other writers on the Law of Nations have said on these points; and I also know that Mr. Jefferson, in his letter to Mr. Genet of 24th July, 1793, has unequivocally given up the first. Mr. Jefferson, however, does not appear to have been well informed on the subject. He says he does not recollect that England has ever agreed to the modification of letting the property of the goods follow that of the vessel, except in the single instance of her Treaty with France: alluding to that of 1786. This error of Mr. Jefferson on so material a point must have embarrassed Mr. Jay and fortified the British Ministry. I have taken the trouble of wading through Chalmers's two volumes of Treaties, and find that the principle of free ships making free goods has, upon a variety of occasions, been admitted by G. Britain. It is therefore extremely to be regretted that she should insist on the right of harrassing our commerce in opposition to that principle, when she must know that the advocates for war would not fail to take advantage of this circumstance to irritate the minds of the people and endeavor to plunge them into that dreadful calamity." * * * "I do not think that any blame is to be imputed to Mr. Jay for not having made a more acceptable Treaty. The embarrassment to which we are subjected appears to me to be entirely owing to the narrow policy of the British administration, and to their not thinking it of sufficient importance to them to cultivate the good opinion of this country. I think Mr. Jay has had a very difficult task to execute, that he has conducted himself with honor and ability, and that his cumniators deserve to be covered with infamy. I have no hesitation in declaring that I think the majority of the Senate, in advising the President to ratify the Treaty, with the exception of the 12th article, have acted with wisdom, and deserve the thanks of their country." * * * "The President has been subjected to the insults of the most infamous of mankind. It affords me no consolation to reflect that all History is full of examples of the best man being exposed to the malice of the most execrable miscreants. It is to be lamented that another instance is now to be added to the black catalogue of the ingratitude of mankind. The present disagreeable situation in which the President is placed, and all the convulsions which have been excited throughout the United States, may be attributed to the ambition of one man. Fostered in his bosom, and covered with his kindness, he basely and ungratefully endeavored to undermine his reputation and to withdraw from him the public confidence. Should the President decline serving again, after the expiration of the term for which he was elected, that man will be a candidate for the office of President and will have all the factious votes on the Continent; a very considerable number of which will be found to the southward of the Potomack. I hope the Friends of this country, who have access to the President, will unite their endeavors to prevail on him to servc another term of four years." Etc.

Highly interesting historical letter.

- 248 Jameson, John. Colonel of a cavalry regiment in the Revolutionary War. The officer to whom Major André was committed by his three captors. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. December 5, 1778. To a Colonel.

* * * "After the Germans have crossed the Delaware and I have given the necessary orders to the Escort &c., I have obtained leave from General Washington to go by Philadelphia and settle my last winter's account, so as to overtake the Germans again at Lancaster." Etc.

- 249 Jefferson, Thomas. Signer of the Declaration of Independence. President of the United States. Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. In Council, April 17, 1781. To General Joseph Reed, Governor of Pennsylvania.

In relation to running the boundaries between the States of Pennsylvania and Virginia, the necessary astronomical observations, the appointment of Rev. James Madison and Rev. Robert Andrews as Commissioners on the part of Virginia," etc, etc.

Commodore John Paul Jones's sarcastic comments on the tardiness of Congress in forwarding to him their acknowledgment of his services.

- 250 Jones, John Paul. Celebrated naval commander in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 4 pages. Portsmouth, New Hampshire, October 3, 1781. To his Excellency Richard Howly, Esq., Governor of the State of Georgia, Member of Congress.

* * * "I flatter myself the Report of the Admiralty and of the Special Committee (your worthy colleague, Mr. Matthews, and Mr. Clymer) on my Examination will not be disregarded by Congress and thrown out *in the latter Clause*. It is not for me to judge of my own merit. But, if I have in any measure deserved the Praises I have been Honored with in Europe by the general Voice, and especially by the illustrious Ally of the United States; if the marks of Honor I received from a generous-minded Prince are well bestowed and 'highly acceptable to Congress,' as would seem from the Journal, would it be consistent with the generosity and Sovereign Dignity of America that these Honors, so highly acceptable to Congress, should operate against me and be considered as a reason for withholding from me the Guaranty of the honorable Report made of me to Congress both by the board of Admiralty and the Special Committee? If I have supported the honor of the American Flag with zeal, prudence and Intrepidity; if my bold and successful Enterprises have redeemed from Captivity the Citizens of these States who had fallen under the power of the Enemy; and if in general my good conduct and eminent services have added Lustre to my character and to the American Arms, as would seem from the Act of Congress of April 14th, would it not have a strange appearance in History should the Emblem thereof, as mentioned in the Report of the Admiralty and Special Committee already alluded

to, be

to, be refused? Posterity will know that such Tokens of the public approbation have in this Revolution been bestowed on men who have never personally encountered equal danger, either in support of the claims of Humanity or the honor of the American Arms. I am writing to you only as a private friend, and it is therefore I have expressed myself so plainly on so delicate a matter." * * * "We have no certain news of the operations in Virginia, except the Action of the 5th ult. between the Fleets; whereof we have not yet a clear detail, and the reports differ widely." Etc., etc.

A magnificent specimen.

- 251 Jones, Willie. Delegate to the Constitutional Convention. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Halifax Town, July 17, 1783.

* * * "I am told that the Executive of Virginia advanced a considerable sum of money to our Continental officers on their arrival in James River from So. Carolina. I am one of the Commissioners appointed here to settle and pay the accounts of the Continental officers of this State, and it is necessary that we be informed of the amount, that we may debit the officers with it. Your Excellency will oblige me by letting me know the sum, and to what officer or officers it was paid." Etc.

Very fine, and excessively rare.

- 252 Kean, John. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Philadelphia, June 5, 1793. To Le Roy and Bayard.

On financial matters. *Very fine specimen.*

- 253 King, Rufus. Signer of the Constitution of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. (Signed with initials). 3 pages. Washington, January 29, 1815. To Stephen Van Rensselaer.

"The mail from New Orleans arrived this morning and brings letters dated 30th Dec. Jackson's forces had increased to upwards of 8 thousand, and Adair with 2800 Kentuckians would join him on the following day or on New Year's day. The Enemy made an attack upon Jackson's lines, behind which militia men are as formidable as Regulars, and were repulsed on the 27th; between which date and the 30th nothing occurred except between the Pickets." * * * "The letters are animated, affirm that there is great unanimity among the Louisianians, that Jackson has obtained their entire confidence, and express no doubt of their being able to save the City." * * * "They do not rate the Enemy above 7000, which number they seem confident of being able to repulse." * * * "Should Jackson repulse the Enemy, the consequences at home and abroad will be most important. It will hasten Peace, and moreover endear Louisiana to, and render it worthy of, the Union. It will cover the Tennessee and Kentucky militia with glory; and you must have observed that, in all parts, we are desirous of sharing the reputation in arms that is acquired by our Countrymen. Hence we shall esteem the Western people, and strive to continue, instead of dissolving, our connexion with them."

Rufus King's Letter on Jackson's Victory at New Orleans.

- 254 King, Rufus. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. To Stephen Van Rensselaer.

Giving an account of Jackson's victory at New Orleans.

* * * "The news from Orleans is highly important, indeed glorious. The Enemy on the 8th ult. were repulsed with the loss, as General Jackson reports, of 2600 killed and wounded; among them the three officers highest in command. The loss on our side ten or twelve only!!! If the Enemy fail in getting his ships and bomb vessels up the river, the City is safe." * * * "Lambert with 3000 men from England arrived the day before the assault, carrying the Enemy's force to 11,000 men. The blood shed by the Western men on this glorious day is a cement of our Union which will stand the assault of even time. Coffee and Carroll of Tennessee, with their Riflemen, were placed on our left. The Column which assaulted them advanced to a station distant from our works 150 yards, threw off their knapsacks, gave three cheers, and advanced. After prodigious efforts on their part they were repulsed; and in a small compass within the first reach of the rifles, 300 men were found dead after the battle, not a few of them perforated with five or six bullets." Etc.

- 255 Knox, Henry. Major-General in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 3 pages. New York, January 25, 1789. To Rev. David McClure.

* * * "Our juvenile sports, and the joyful sensations they excited, are fresh in my mind; and what to me renders the remembrance peculiarly precious is that I flattered myself our hearts and minds were formed on the same scale. Our situations since, however, has been widely different. You have been deeply exploring the moral and natural world, in order to impress on the minds of your fellow mortals their relative connection with the great scale of intelligent beings, * * * while I have been too much entangled with the little affairs of a little globe. But as it is a part of my belief that we are responsible only for the light we possess, I hope we have both acted our parts in such a manner that, when we reflect, the past will give us more pleasure than pain." Etc., etc.

Fine friendly letter.

Lafayette's interesting Letter on the downfall of Napoleon.

- 256 Lafayette, Marquis de. Major-General in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 6 pages. La Grange, December 26, 1815. To General Charles Colesworth Pinckney.

A very long and extremely interesting letter on the character, career, and downfall of Napoleon; the humiliation of the French nation; the state of affairs in France, etc.

* * * "There has been a still greater lesson in politics to be taught. How the Legitimate Monarchs, as they term themselves, most of them having been
"humble

humble courtiers to the Emperor whom they call an Usurper, were roused by the irritation of their own oppressed subjects, and invited by the madness and blunders of the oppressor, to put a stop to his ambitious strides; and how, when the number of their troops have put the power in their hands, these magnanimous Sovereigns have emulated the rapacity and surpassed the Machiavelism of that prodigious adventurer. For the truth of this double assertion, I shall only refer you to the transactions of the great powers and bartering of souls at the Congress of Vienna, to the shameless contradiction between the successive declarations of the Allies, and to their conduct after this last Restoration, when, improving upon the policy of Napoleon with the Bourbons of Spain, they have made those of France the instruments for the disarmament of the country, before they did exact from them conditions still more oppressive and shocking than those for which their aid had been proffered. When you were in France, my dear Sir, the principles of the Revolution had been distorted into excesses of every kind. Since that time, a military Chief of uncommon parts, rising upon the errors and the crimes of the preceding epochs and the disgust they had created, has made a wicked use of his talents to dissolve the spirit and the means of civil liberty, while he improved the Revolutionary impulsion towards warlike achievements and changed the flag of freedom into the standard of ambitious conquest. Never were the moral and material resources of a nation, multiplied as they were by the Revolution, squandered away in so deplorable a manner; yet its primitive principles were so sound and so regenerative that the prosperity, comfort and information of the four-fifths of the population have increased with a rapidity unparalleled in Europe." * * * "While the troops, abandoned by their General on the field of Waterloo, were rallying towards the Capital, a solemn appeal was made by an Embassy to the faith of those High Powers, to agree to a suspension of arms for the sake of mutual explanations. They preferred pushing their advantages; and before the plenipotentiaries were allowed to reach their own lines on their return from a fruitless mission, they found that the elective Government and the chiefs of the army had, with the assent of both Houses, stipulated the capitulation of Paris. Not that the gallant remains of the army were deficient in the military ardor which the known sounds of Liberty had raised beyond what Napoleon had ever obtained, but because, in addition to too many intrigues, there prevailed a tender reluctance to compromise, in the event of a desperate battle, the fate of a large populous Capital. The articles of the Capitulation, as well as the former declarations of the coalesced Powers, have been violated in every instance where not only their High politics but mere motives of spite or convenience have been concerned." * * * "I am returned to the solitary mansion where, under the reign of Napoleon, I have lived in quiet retirement. Nothing but a desperate crisis, when the cause of Liberty and France was pressed and endangered on all sides, could have prompted me to come out." * * * "The great work of European freedom, notwithstanding the deviations of one party, the illiberality of the other, has been moving along with an evident progress of public good sense, and has past the danger of real retrogradation." * * * "It is not one of the least peculiarities of this strange period that Napoleon, when he had our assent and to the last day the means to escape to America, has preferred going on board the Bellerophon. I am glad his brother Joseph, whom I ever found very friendly to me, has taken a wiser course." * * * "It is a long while, my dear Sir, since I did address your brother from my Prussian dungeon and receive from him so great and multiplied marks of his friendship, or since my dear and heroic Huger so nobly exposed his life, so precious to all who know him, to rescue me from Austrian captivity. Still a longer time has elapsed since I first was welcomed at his excellent father's house; and from the kind reception I met in Charlestown could anticipate my future obligation to every part of the United States," Etc., etc.

- 257 Langworthy, Edward. Signer of the Articles of Confederation. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Document, signed. Half quarto sheet. September 29, 1774.

Fine specimen. Rare.

- 258 Laurens, Henry. President of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 3 pages. Charles Town, March 24, 1776. To Colonel Lachlan McIntosh.

Congratulating him on his appointment to the command of the Georgia Continental Battalion; informing him that Thomas Lynch, Sr., has had a stroke of apoplexy, and that the younger Lynch has gone to Philadelphia to succeed his father as a delegate, etc.

* * * "The intelligence we received yesterday from Philadelphia, added to the late Act of Parliament which came through your Town, puts all possibility of reconciliation with Great Britain, upon terms formerly proposed, aside; yet I feel myself lighter, I think better terms are not far distant. But I feel, nevertheless, and I grieve for England: her glory and her honour are eclipsed, her power will sink. I grieve for her as for the loss of an old and much loved friend. In a word, I see the time advancing very fast when the declaration which I have oft made to men of consequence in that island, and perhaps oft in your hearing, will be accomplished: her Conquest will be her defeat; possibly worse—if her ancient Rival should interpose in earnest, she may suffer nothing but defeat." * * * "We have lost one of the best friends to this Country, and one of the ablest politicians in America, by a stroke of apoplexy on the elder Mr. Lynch in Philadelphia. He had been twelve days languishing, when the Messenger came away on the 3rd March, wholly deprived of speech and understanding. His son goes to-morrow to see and also to succeed him as a delegate; for, if he survives, he must change his habits and air. The messenger brought a private letter from a Doctor Swendt, who writes that Quebec was taken. The letter was dated day after that from Mr. E. Rutledge, and says the intelligence was just received. General Lee as a Major and Gen. Armstrong as a Brigadier, are appointed for Southern Department, and both will probably be here in a few days. Every family in your Colony should immediately set to making Saltpetre, and in one month you would collect enough to make gunpowder to serve you six." Etc.

- 259 Laurens, John. Colonel in the Revolutionary War. Aide to General Washington. Killed in a skirmish near Combahee. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Brest, May 29, 1781.

A most affectionate and extremely patriotic letter to his sister, Miss Laurens, then in Languedoc, France.

"I am upon the point of departure, my sweet friend and Sister. A moment only remains for me to repeat the tender assurances of my unalterable love, the ardent and incessant vows I offer to Heaven for your preservation and happiness, and the cruel regret I feel at quitting France without having the happiness of passing a moment with you except in imagination. Devoted to the service of my Country, I submit to this sacrifice. I love you the more for the patriotism which animates you when you speak of America. In my separation from you it is a consolation that I am serving our Common Mother, and that our friendship cannot be affected by time, place or circumstance. I can't express to you my surprise at your application to our Minister Plenipotentiary for a passport to go to England. I hope that our dear friends, my uncle and aunt, will reconsider the matter, and that your project will not take place. It will have a very ill effect both in France and America, in a public point of view, and I do not conceive any good that can arise from it to our dear and respectable father." Etc.

A very desirable specimen.

- 260 Lee, Francis Lightfoot. Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Philadelphia, May 3, 1777. To Major-General Adam Stephen.

"We hear there are some appearances of the Enemy quitting the Jerseys. Will you let them get off unhurt? Considerable reinforcements are coming forward; near 2000 are now marching from hence. Great exertions will be made against us this campaign. Our exertions must be proportioned; but I am sure it will not avail us much to have numbers in the field, if they are not under proper discipline; of which I almost despair, so very shameful has been the conduct of our officers for some months past. Unless the Generals take extraordinary pains and examine minutely into every particular relative to the troops, disease and despondency will make them an easy prey to the Enemy. Cleanliness in lodging and diet, just payments, and martial exercises will make them invincible. 'Tis true your troops are at present raw; but you may remember that Epaminondas soon brought his disheartened countrymen to beat the best troops then in the world by his excellent discipline and frequent judicious skirmishes. I know I incur the ridicule of the orator who discoursed of war before Hannibal; but I can't help it. The subject lies too heavy upon my mind: the stake we play for is not a common one. 'Tis a pity so many of our stores were laid up in that nest of Tories at Danbury and its environs. The loss will not easily be repaired, and the disgrace is injurious. These things hurt us exceedingly with our own people and have a bad influence abroad. God send you may soon give us something to put on the other side of the account." Etc.

Fine specimen, with name signed in full.

- 261 Lee, Mary Custis. Wife of General Robert E. Lee, and daughter of George Washington Parke Custis. Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo. 3 pages. Alexander, June 5, 1873.

"I have been out to see my early, indeed almost my life-long home, endeared by all the memories of my life, both of joy and sorrow. What I feel to see it so changed, in the hands of strangers, covered with the graves of those who have so trampled on and desecrated our beloved Virginia! But my visit produced one good effect: that the change is so entire, I have not the same *yearning* to go back there, and shall be more content to resign all my right in it." Etc.

- 262 Lewis, Francis. Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Admiralty office, April 21, 1781. To General Joseph Reed.

In regard to offering bounties to seamen and landsmen to serve on the "Trumbull" frigate, etc. *Very fine specimen.*

- 263 Lewis, Meriwether, Celebrated explorer. Autograph Letter, signed. Half quarto sheet. St. Louis, March 31, 1808.

Direction for the payment of money.

Arnold's cruelty at New London.

- 264 Livingston, William. Signer of the Constitution of the United States. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. Trenton, September 14, 1781. To General Joseph Reed.

In relation to Arnold's conduct in burning New London, etc.

* * * "Clinton has a large number of troops on Staten Island; and Col. Seely, commanding our three months' men at Connecticut Farms, writes me that the enemy are all on the move, and, according to the best accounts that he can get a great number of them already embarked, and a considerable number of flat-bottomed boats are got and getting ready, but that their destination is unknown. He adds, 'Sir Harry told a person, if I am rightly informed, that he would not suffer the troops to move until he knew the event of the Fleets, and that he would wait until Arnold returned from the Eastward.' With respect to the *Scoundrel last aforesaid mentioned*, I have just received a verbal confirmation by some travellers from the Eastward of his having burnt New London and killed 500 of the inhabitants, 76 of whom were bayoneted in cold blood; that his horse was shot under him, and his servant killed next to his side. I believe he is not born to die in battle himself, but, in Pomfret's words, 'to grace the gibbet and adorn the string.'" Etc.

Very fine specimen.

- 265 Lloyd, James. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Farley, July 23, 1798. To Jonathan Dayton.

* * * "I feel myself much obliged by the kind manner in which your partiality, rather than any desert of mine, leads you to estimate the acquaintance I have had the honor and pleasure to form with you. Be assured that I entirely reciprocate all your favorable sentiments of me." Etc., etc.

Very fine and rare.

- 266 Logan, James. Colonial Governor of Pennsylvania. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Stenton, July 30, 1737. To the Honorable, the Proprietor, at Philadelphia.

* * * "My head was so full of the business we talk'd of to-day, that I entirely forgot one article I fully intended this morning to inquire into and take some care of, that is how Lodgings may be got and to get them for the Eastern Gentleman who, as I have been informed, might be expected in town to-morrow; and I am now the more solicitous about it, because R. Peters assures me he is truly what he pretends to be, that is, a Sovereign Prince, tho' tributary to the Porte." Etc., etc.

- 267 **Loring, Joshua.** **British Commissary of Prisoners.**
Noted for his cruelty. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio.
Philadelphia, April 3, 1778. To Elias Boudinot, Com-
missary-General of Prisoners.

His wife, whose influence with General Howe procured him this appointment, is thus commemorated in Hopkinson's "Battle of the Kegs":—

"Sir William he, snug as a flea,
Lay all this time a-snoring;
Nor dreamed of harm as he lay warm
In bed with Mrs. Loring."

In relation to the exchange of General Charles Lee and Colonel Ethan Allen.

"Yesterday, by order of his Excellency Sir William Howe, I acquainted General Lee that he had leave to go out as soon as he pleased. By his own desire he tarry's till Sunday. I should be glad that Lt. Col^o Campbell and the Hessian Field officers were sent in here as soon as possible. The order for Lt. Col^o Ethan Allen's being sent out from New York of course must be altered; but should the Commissioners meet again soon, I will come out at the same time and adjust these matters with you." Etc.

- 268 **Lovell, James.** **Signer of the Articles of Confederation.** Autograph Document, signed. Folio. 3 pages.
Philadelphia, February 15, 1781. Also signed by General Alexander McDougall, Gouverneur Morris, and Dr. John Jones.

Urging the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania to grant Elizabeth Pettit a passport to return to New York. "Tho' her eyes must there again meet with objects mortifying to her Love of the American Cause, yet she can there still continue her ardent prayers for its prosperity."

Beautiful specimen.

- 269 **Lyon, Nathaniel.** **Brigadier-General in the Civil War.**
Killed at the battle of Wilson's Creek. Autograph Document, signed. Quarto. August 31, 1859.
Account of moneys expended for his company.

- 270 **Lyttleton, William Henry.** **Colonial Governor of South Carolina.** Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. Charles Town, May 20, 1758. To Governor Denny.

"I have received a letter from Mr. Secretary Pitt, dated the 27th day of January last, wherein he is pleased to say, 'It is the King's Pleasure that you do forwith use your best endeavours to procure, with as much secrecy and dispatch as possible, experienced Pilots that can be depended upon and who are knowing in the navigation of the Rivers of Mobile and Mississippi, and you will cause such Pilots to repair in the most expeditious manner to Halifax, in order to be employ'd in such attempts as Admiral Boscawen may think proper to direct, and care will be taken to reward the said Pilots for their services.' I am informed that such Pilots as above mentioned may be procured at Philadelphia, and I beg leave to apply to you, Sir, to procure and send them to Halifax." Etc., etc.

Very fine specimen.

- 271 **McClurg, James.** **Delegate to the Federal Convention.**
Autograph Letter, signed. Half quarto sheet. Richmond, July 6, 1809
Requesting that a dividend on stock be sent to him.

- 272 McKean, Thomas. Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. York Town, May 30, 1778. To Honorable George Bryan.

Relative to the proper disposition to be made, by the Treasurer of Pennsylvania, of a box of the paper money issued during the Proprietary Government, etc. *Fine specimen.*

- 273 McKean, Thomas. Document signed. Quarto. (Signed as President). In conference, June 25, 1776.

"Resolved unanimously, That it be recommended to the Committee of Safety of this Province to confine the command of Commodore Davison to the Ship of War and Floating Battery belonging to the Province, and to issue no orders to the Captains or other officers of the Row Gallies, Fire Ships, or Fire Rafts, through the said Commodore, until the Convention meets; and that it be recommended to the Captains and other officers of the Row Gallies, etc., to pay all due obedience to the Committee of Safety until that time, and until a new appointment shall take place."

On the necessity of giving aid to General Washington in order to defeat Howe's attempt upon Philadelphia.

- 274 McKinly, John. The patriotic Governor of Delaware, during part of the Revolutionary War. Taken prisoner by the British. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. Wilmington, April 29, 1777. To Brigadier-General Cæsar Rodney.

On the necessity of speedily raising a force of militia, to aid General Washington in defeating an attempt upon Philadelphia.

"Congress have made a requisition of Fifteen Hundred of the Militia of this State, who are to be well armed and accoutred, and to rendezvous in Brandywine Hundred in this County by the 15th day next month, where a Camp is to be formed, and where tents and camp equipage will be ready to be delivered to them. A Committee of three Members of Congress, with General Mifflin, were appointed to confer with the President and Council of this State, to enforce the necessity of complying with the above requisition; who met here yesterday accordingly, when they showed the necessity fully; as from several circumstances General How will by that time make an Attempt upon Philad'a, both by land and water, unless by our having a superior force ready to oppose him he may be deterred therefrom altogether, which makes the aid of the Militia absolutely necessary for about six weeks, in which time it is expected that General Washington (who is now very deficient, but whose Army is daily increasing fast) will have a sufficient number of Continental Troops under his command. So that it is thought the Salvation of our Country, and everything that ought to be dear to us, depends under Providence on a hearty and speedy compliance. Another Camp is to be formed at the same time of a suitable number of the Militia of Pennsylvania near Philad'a."

* * * "Pray exert yourself, and animate those under your command to a speedy compliance, as it is hoped this may be the last time the Militia may be wanted; but I have no doubt but you will. The credit of our State and the Liberties of America require it." * * * "I sincerely wish you success, and wou'd fondly hope you will meet with it, to the credit of the State and the good of our great, glorious, and common Cause." Etc., etc.

- 275 **McLane, Allen.** Distinguished Colonel in the Revolutionary War. Noted for his personal combat with three British dragoons near Frankford, Pa. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Baltimore, January 15, 1817.

In relation to his application to Congress for aid.

* * * "It was my intention this morning before I left Washington to have sent under cover a copy of my memorial now before Congress, and several original papers in support. Much will depend on the impression you make on the Chairman of the Committee. If the Committee makes a favourable report, those disposed to do me justice will have easy work." * * * "I have a great desire that the President should see my Memorial, and to learn from you that he approves of my persevering in calling the attention of Congress year after year. The President, while a member of Congress at New York, fought a hard battle to have something done for old Revolutionists; but he was overruled by the money changers." * * * "I was an active Whig from the commencement of the struggle that ended in our Independence." Etc., etc.

Patriot Parson McWhorter's Letter on the cowardly conduct of General Gates in North Carolina.

- 276 **McWhorter, Alexander.** Patriotic Presbyterian Clergyman. Sent by Congress to Western North Carolina, to persuade the Royalists to unite with the patriot cause. Chaplain of Knox's Artillery Brigade. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 3 pages. November 18, 1780. To Elisha Boudinot.

A letter of the greatest historical interest and importance. Written when he was President of Charlotte Academy, in Mecklenburg Co., N. C.

* * * "Let me go where I will, it seems as tho' I must be drove by the British. Who would have thought that the infatuated British would have even invaded the back woods of N. Carolina, 200 and near 300 miles from the Sea? Our public affairs in the South have been conducted wretchedly, and in many instances dishonorably and shamefully. The ignorant, self important gentry of Charlestown as it were compelled Gen. Lincoln to shut himself up in that place. Southern judgments are feeble, and Southern imaginations and fancies are very strong; and they possess the powers and arts of *persuasion*, considering their understandings, to an exceedingly great degree. To these Lincoln fell a sacrifice. He resigned his own judgment, in dependence upon the opinion, integrity and honour of others. When C. Town fell, the enemy instantly flashed over their whole State, which did not make the least attempt to defend itself, but tamely, like a set of poltroons and disaffected wretches as they are, bowed their necks to the yoke. There are a few good people in the State, for whom I am sorry; but the great majority of the people are suffering nothing more than they deserve. And the English are making them feel the severity of conquest, above anything that has been practised in the North. They that would not lift an hand to save their State

"and

and their liberties, must now fight for the English, have no property that they can call their own, and are in the most wretched circumstances. North Carolina will make some struggle for her liberties; but her Tories are so very numerous and violent, that without considerable aid she cannot stand. And this grand manœuvre of the enemy, throwing a body of troops into Virginia to keep their people at home until Cornwallis has fixed his posts in N. Carolina, greatly endangers that State. But the State is so exhausted of provisions, I know well it is impossible for an army of friends or foes to subsist in it this winter unless they derive their provisions and forage from some other State. Our militia has had great success against the Tory insurgents this summer. We defeated them in 7 different battles, besides some little skirmishes. But every defeat afforded a considerable reenforcement to Cornwallis, except this late one of Ferguson. For when they were defeated, except the few that were killed or taken, they ran directly to the English. Altho' we had success against the tories, we were shamefully defeated and infamously surprised often by the English. Gen. Uge was stupidly surprised at Monk's Corner. Col. Washington was *again* surprised not far from the same place, and only personally escaped by swimming over a river. Col. Beaufort was caught unprepared to receive the enemy, and entirely cut to pieces. Gen. Sumpter, with 700 men who had with them above 200 prisoners and a fine booty they had taken from the enemy, was surprised at midday by about 100 English horse, and lost all. And Gates's defeat was infamous and ruinous." * * *

"No such thing as retreat, if I have any just idea of what is meant by the term, at all took place. It was a most perfect rout and dispersion; and if any man deserved thanks for running away, it was Gates, for he far distanced every man in his army. He himself brought the first news of his defeat into Charlotte the same night after the action, between 10 and 11 o'clock, 76 miles from the scene. He was so terrified, he would not alight from his horse in town; nor would he light in Salisbury, 116 miles from the action. At Gilsford, 177 miles from the action, he and the few that were with him denied him to be Gen. Gates; and he never stopped till he got to Hillsborough, about 220 miles from the terrific ground. And whether the creature is yet got over his panic, I cannot tell. As soon as his shattered troops came up with him at Hillsborough, he set them to fortify a hill in the neighborhood of that town, and ordered a party to build boats at Taylor's Ferry on the Roanoke, about 70 miles east of him, to secure his retreat over a river fordable almost everywhere. If he had calculated his measures to ruin, affright and discourage N. Carolina, he could not have taken more effectual steps. The man has acted as if he was bewitched. For amidst all the odium and contempt that are cast upon him, I did not find him accused of treachery by sensible people. The universal opinion in the South of him is, that he would make an excellent post rider, but that he does not possess one accomplishment fit for a general. The late defeat of Ferguson and his Tories I hope will in some degree derange Cornwallis's measures." * * *

The rest of the letter narrates the actions of the Tories in North Carolina, the difficulty he had in escaping them, etc., etc.

- 277 Madison, James. Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Virginia. President of William and Mary College. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. October 24, 1801. To James Madison, Secretary of State, Washington.

* * * "I observed, in the different papers, such harping upon the introduction of Godwin in Wm. and Mary, that I determined to check, if possible, the current of malevolence; especially as your Inquiry evinced that the supposition of such an Introduction was one of the Engines which was occasionally played off against Virginia. For this purpose, I have sent to the National Intelligencer a fictitious Letter, stating, however, Facts with a few observations. Nothing so strongly marks the virulence and the meanness of the [disappointed Party, as these little Tricks to excite popular odium. They carry with them the strongest evidence either of the most pitiful Hypocrisy or the most bigotted Ignorance. But I believe the first is really the case." Etc.

- 278 **Madison, James.** President of the United States. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Philadelphia, August 20, 1782. To the Auditors of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

In relation to the settlement of his pay as a member of Congress.

"As the General Assembly have fixed a daily rate for the subsistence of the Delegates, which I understand is to be retrospective as well as future in its application, you will now, I presume, be able to strike the balance due to me. The time of my attendance on Congress is to be computed from March 20, 1780; the length of my journey hither at 260 miles." Etc.

- 279 **Malcom, William.** Colonel of a New York regiment of the Continental line in the Revolutionary War. Deputy Adjutant-General of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. October 17, 1777. To Colonel Aaron Burr.

"I had just resolved to set off for Pennsylvania, as Mr. Munnell came in and told me the fate of Fort Montgomery, etc.; adding that the Governor and several principal Militia officers from this quarter were prisoners; and suggested the propriety of my immediately pushing down to take command of the scattering stragglers that had escaped, as also of the militia. This measure I agreed to, and directly set off; but most fortunately found the Governor just come in. However, he would by no means consent to my leaving him, and insisted, with Gen. Putnam, that I should continue. Indeed it was necessary. It's impossible to describe the scene of confusion that was among us for two or three days." * * * "Yesterday the fleet of 26 sail passed Wendron, and we immediately marched after them, supposing them a relief to Burgoyne. This defeated a purpose concluded on to attack Fort M. the same day from both sides the river." * * * "I hope the trouble in this quarter is near an end, as we have just heard that Burgoyne is shut up and must submit. General Gates is informed of the fleet going up, by Express; consequently, will press. If with success, the re-enforcement will speedily return." Etc.

- 280 **Mansfield, Joseph K. F.** Major-General in the Civil War. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Fort Monroe, December 23, 1830.

Fine specimen, in relation to moneys for military disbursements.

- 281 **Martin, Alexander.** Member of the Federal Convention. Colonel in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. Salisbury, September 21, 1770. To James Madison.

Pathetic letter in relation to the death of his (Martin's) elder brother.

- 282 **Martin, Luther.** Member of the Continental Congress. Delegate to the Federal Convention. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Richmond, September 15, 1807. To Aaron Burr.

Informing him (Burr) that he has been acquitted in the trial on the charge of misdemeanor.

"It is with pleasure I communicate to you, and to my much esteemed and beloved friend, your amiable Lady, that this day the Jury have returned a verdict of 'not guilty' in the misdemeanor. We are now at all events clear of this *darned District*. I enclose a colored Engraving which Mrs. A. will do me the honor to accept. Assure her nothing can render me happier than that she may be happy." Etc.

- 283 **Montgomery, John.** Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Document, signed. Half quarto sheet. Annapolis, March 22, 1784.

His account with the State of Pennsylvania for attendance in Congress.

- 284 **Montgomery, Joseph.** Member of the Continental Congress. Document, signed. Quarto. (With one line in his handwriting). Philadelphia, April 14, 1781.

Order, signed by General Joseph Reed, for his pay as a member of Congress; below which is a receipt for the pay, written and signed by Montgomery. *A fine specimen of an extremely rare autograph.*

Colonel Morgan's account of the Western Indians, and recommending that forts Pitt and Randolph be garrisoned.

- 285 **Morgan, George.** Colonel in the Revolutionary War. Agent for Indian affairs. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 3 pages. Baltimore, January 4, 1777. To Honorable John Hancock.

"I have the Pleasure to inform Congress that the Western Indians are now altogether quiet. No Parties have been out to War or committed any Hostilities since the Return of the different Nations from the Treaty. And I flatter myself with the agreeable Hope that the Banditti who were so troublesome last Summer will be kept in awe from renewing their attacks. But lest they should again commence their Barbarities the ensuing Spring, would it not be expedient to lay in a stock of Provisions at Pittsburgh, build a few Boats, and authorize certain Persons on the Frontier, to be named by Congress, to call out a sufficient number of Volunteers, in case of a Rupture, who could be speedily collected, to go and cut off their Town? The Delawares and Shawnese are already prepared for such an Event, and approve of it on Condition that Care be taken no injury is offered to them." * * * "Col. Mackay's Reg't is by this Time at Shippensburgh or Carlisle. Should Congress have occasion to draw further Reinforcements from the Westward, I understand Col. Wood's Reg't is nearly completed. Two hundred and fifty men of that Corps now garrison Forts Pitt and Randolph, whose Places if necessary might be supplied by the militia of the Frontier Counties. Or, a sufficient number of men might readily be induced to enlist into the Continental Service under good officers, for the express purpose of garrisoning those Posts during the war." * * * "I inclose the present state of the Navy and Garrison at Detroit. Also a speech of the Corn Stalk, a Shawnese Chief, and one of a Seneca War Chief, relative to our settling on their Lands. The latter was delivered in public Council at the late Treaty, but as it was omitted to be so particularly minuted as I thought it ought to have been, I now give it to Congress in the words it was spoken, as it certainly merits their attention." Etc., etc.

Robert Morris writes a facetious letter on
the subject of his financial distress,
the suits brought against
him, etc.

- 286 Morris, Robert. Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 3 pages. Hills, November 1, 1797. To John Nicholson.

An extremely interesting letter, remarkable for the humorous expressions he made use of notwithstanding the financial difficulties he was in. Three months after this letter was written he was confined in a debtor's cell in the Prune street prison, Philadelphia, where he remained until liberated by the passage of the national bankrupt law in 1802.

"Your several favours of this day (if distressing Billets can be called famous), Nos. 1 to 6, were brought out by Charles this evening." * * * "I see by your No. 1 that you will need sleep to-night as well as myself; and when I go to bed I will say, as they do in England over a pot of ale, 'Here's to you.' My letter to the Trustees is a reply to this of yours without comment. Poor Boone, Poor Nicholson, Poor Morris, Poor Sterrett, Poor Sheaff, Poor ———. But who is not poor, except Ashley & Co.? This replies to No. 2. I have sworn to let nobody inside of my house, and not to go outside of the walls myself. If I see them, it is out of a window, I being upstairs and they down. When I snuff the open air it is on the Top; and there is something else to snuff there, unless you keep to windward as you know. I wish I had some persons that I could name to take a smell to Leeward, until they would consent to *do not their needs* but ours. *That's a good one.* You have got a Boone, but it is of that sort that you and I have too many of. What the plague will you do with it? I wish to answer this question myself, but cannot, and fear it will equally puzzle you. No. 3. Damn the actions, *Descript and non Descript.* I hate them all, and have a great mind not to 'tir one tep.' Chas. Young, I do not like thee Chas. Young, neither do I like thy business Chas. Young, but I feel for thy situation and regret that my Friend and I even suffered thee to whistle away a segar in our Company. No. 4. *Suits* again. A curse on all *suits* say I. If they were good, comfortable winter suits, one might dispose of them, the more the better; but these damned suits wherein a Lawyer is the Taylor are neither good for man, woman, child or beast. Away with them, away with them, to Chief Justice McKean. He will dispose of them." * * * "So much for No. 5. And as to No. 6, and last, to fulfill the Scripture I made it first. However, a word more to it. Don't you think Mr. Ashley's leading strings may give way if the Comm'rs should take the Studd; and I fear they will, for some of them we know are apt to ride resty. Did you mark, 'yes, I am sure you did,' Gen'l Forrest's expressions about the dapper little Dorsey? Has not he got the Trustees in leading strings? Now if we could cast a noose around his muzzle we might lead him, he would lead the Trustees, and they would lead the Comm'rs. I think this would make as good a scene as Bates with Eo, Meo and Pleo, or what the Devil are their names, for I believe I am near them, but not quite right. Do I write like a man in distress, or one deranged. Perhaps I am both. Good night. I wish you rest."

An address of Condolence on the death of George II.

- 287 Norris, Isaac. Member of the Congress of 1754. (Albany Convention). Letter, signed. Folio. January 29, 1761. Signed as Speaker of the Assembly. To the Governor of Pennsylvania.

"Truly sensible of the great Loss which the English Dominions in general and these Colonies in particular have sustained in the Death of His late most excellent Majesty, we hold it our indispensable Duty to present to His Majesty an address of condolence on this afflicting Occasion, and at the same Time to congratulate His Accession to the imperial Throne of his Ancestors which he has ascended with the universal Assent and Applause of an affectionate, loyal and united People. But as we apprehend that distinct Addresses from the different Branches of the Legislature are not only supported by Precedents, but appear to us more dutiful in the Manner, we incline to address His Majesty separately on behalf of the People we represent. Nevertheless we beg Leave to return you our hearty Thanks for your kind offer on this Occasion."

On a love affair of Aaron Burr.

- 288 Ogden, Matthias. Brevet Brigadier-General in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. Elizabethtown, March 18, 1775. To Aaron Burr.

* * * "I read with pleasure your love intrigues, your anonymous correspondence with Miss T., etc., and, with as much seriousness, the part that is relative to Miss C. T. B's overtures, etc. *Steadily*, Aaron." * * * "Perhaps she is worthy your love, and if I could think she was I would not say a single thing to discourage you. But here is the rub with me. From the information I have had from you I understand her fondness for C. was *after* she was acquainted with you. Had it been before, I should think nothing of it. Be cautious, Aaron, weigh the matter *well*." * * * "I heartily pity the innocent that broke through the rules of modesty, and contrary to her sex's pride first owned her passion for a Man, tho' in the least I do not blame her. Here you have a difficult part to act. If you reject, she curses; if you pity, she takes it for encouragement." Etc.

- 289 Osgood, Samuel. Member of the Continental Congress. Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Board of Treasury, September 17, 1788. Also signed by Arthur Lec. To Nathaniel Appleton.

In relation to the fraudulent alterations of Treasury certificates. *Fine specimen.*

- 290 **Page, John.** Revolutionary patriot. Governor of Virginia. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Rosewell, Virginia, August 6, 1792.

Recommending certain persons for office.

- 291 **Parsons, Samuel H.** Major-General in the Revolutionary War. Letter, signed. Quarto. 7 pages. Philadelphia, April 6, 1789. To Governor Huntington.

Long and interesting letter on the subject of the proposed negotiations and Treaty, on the part of the State of Connecticut, with the Indians residing on or claiming an interest in the lands reserved by the State and lying west of Pennsylvania.

- 292 **Paterson, William.** Signer of the Constitution of the United States. Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. The Ponds, March 18, 1779. To Colonel Aaron Burr.

Interesting friendly letter; in which he tells Burr that he is married and happy, and that he cannot form a higher or a better wish than that Burr may soon be in the same line.

General Patterson's Letter referring to the duel between Generals Conway and Cadwalader, and on the Court- Martial of General Charles Lee.

- 293 **Patterson, Samuel.** Brigadier-General of Delaware State troops in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. Philadelphia, July 6, 1778. To His Excellency, Cæsar Rodney.

Interesting letter on the subject of the duel between Generals Conway and Cadwalader, the court-martial of General Charles Lee, the second anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, etc.

"General Cadwalader and General Conway had a Duel last Saturday morning at Center in this city, and General Cadwalader had the first shot by winning it, and both had seconds. When the American shot, the ball went through his (Conway's) head, about $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch above the upper side his lip and on the right edge of his mouth, and came out behind. He fell, and has never spoke since. I saw Doctor Shippen, who first dressed him, and says he thinks he may live yet. The challenge was by Conway; the German-town the cause, when in the battle he left his division. As to General Lee's behaviour on the day of battle, it is mysterious. He is under trial of General Court Martial; Lord Stirling President. General Washington's letter, enclosed, will set the charge in its full light. The city anniversary Independence entertainment I was at. It was Grand—Music, a Regiment drawn up, artillery, fireworks, etc., and firing, etc. (rare show)." Etc.

James Wilson, a Lawyer, and Signer of the Declaration of Independence, defeats an armed mob, which sought to drive him from his home in Philadelphia, for acting as counsel for persons charged with treason.

- 294 Patterson, Samuel. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. October 9, 1779. To His Excellency, Cæsar Rodney.

Interesting letter, giving a particular account of the riotous proceedings in Philadelphia at the time of the attack on James Wilson's house.

* * * "On Monday morning a hand bill appeared for the militia to collect on the commons, in order to fall on a plan to drive off from the city all disaffected persons and those who supported them, and made out a list of their names that they intended to seize and put on board the prison ship to be sent to New York. Amongst those names was Buck Sims, Thos. Story and John Drinker. Those they caught and had them prisoners at Paddy Burns till they got the whole. The next they were after was James Wilson, the Lawyer, who had always plead such. He applied to the assembly for protection, on hearing he was amongst the number. They referred him over to the Governor and Council; but in the mean time he found the militia were coming before civil aid was at hand, called in a number of his friends, and armed them and secured the doors. However, a firing began when they were opposed. Some say one began first, and the others contradict it. The firing continued on both sides some time. In the house fell Capt. Cammel of Invalids, wounded Sam'l Cad. Morris through the arm, John Mifflin a ball through both hands, Sharp Delany a slight wound—the others doing well. Four of the mob and a negro boy were killed; in all 14 wounded. In the mean time the Governor had ordered out the light horse of the city, who just came in time to save the lives of all in the house, for they had forced the doors and the cry was blood for blood. The Governor ordered them to charge with swords. They did, and after some cutting they broke them for that time. The Governor, hearing the Germans were coming down to resent the loss of their countrymen, as 3 killed were Dutch, went up with a Troop and pacified them for the present. At present there is a parley. The President, Magistrates, and clergy of all denominations met the militia, and with very great difficulty prevailed on them to lay their grievances before the assembly." Etc.

- 295 Penn, Richard. Colonial Governor of Pennsylvania. Letter, signed. Folio. March 10, 1772.

A message to the Assembly, stating his objections to a Bill for enmitting money.

- 296 **Pettit, Charles.** Member of the Continental Congress. Colonel in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages, Fredericksburg, October 5, 1778 To Nehemiah Hubbard.

In relation to provisions for the army and the fleet, etc.

- 297 **Pickett, George E.** Major-General, Confederate States of America. Celebrated for his charge at Gettysburg. Military endorsement, being five lines written and signed by him as Major-General commanding, on the back of a quarto document containing charges against Captain Campbell G. Lawson. Headquarters, July 31, 1863.

Extremely rare.

- 298 **Pinckney, Thomas.** Major in the Revolutionary War. Governor of South Carolina. Minister to England. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. London, January 30, 1795.

Personal letter to General Washington, thanking him for the kindness and delicacy with which the writer has been desired to make such arrangements as may be necessary previous to his mission as Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Spain.

- 299 **Polk, Leonidas.** Lieutenant-General, Confederate States of America. Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Louisiana. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. New Orleans, April 20, 1847.

Fine specimen, with full signature. *Very rare.*

- 300 **Randolph of Roanoke, John.** Celebrated orator and statesman. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. New York, March 8, 1789. To his stepfather, St. George Tucker.

Letter written while he was a student at Columbia College, N. Y., in which he mentions his studies, etc.

"The New Congress (both Houses) met the other day, but there was not a sufficient number to proceed to business. However, there was as great a fuss made as if the world was to be annihilated. There was a speech in the papers as long as my arm, in which it was said that the old Constitution expired in a Blaze of Eloquence, and that this Phoenix which had sprung from its ashes was to be productive of the greatest Happiness, and a great deal more of such finery." Etc.

- 301 **Rall, Johann Gottlieb.** Hessian Colonel in the Revolutionary War. Killed at the battle of Trenton. Document, signed. Octavo. Headquarters, (1776).

A protection, issued by order of General Howe, to Neilson Yard,

- 302 **Reed, Joseph. Brigadier-General in the Revolutionary War.** Aide to General Washington. Letter, signed. Folio. 3 pages. Philadelphia, June 14, 1780. To Colonel Samuel J. Atlee.

* * * "The interesting and alarming accounts, received from General Washington, of the progress of the Enemy, and their apparent intentions again to penetrate the Country, and perhaps invade this State, make it absolutely necessary to forward the recruits raised under the new law without loss of time. Those from your County, under this change of circumstances, are to be forwarded to this City. The recruits of this City and County are sent in well clothed, which we hope will be the case with yours; but we would not have them delayed on this account. Arms and accoutrements will be prepared for them here, or at Camp." * * * "At all events, the men must come on as fast as possible. General Washington's letters are as alarming as those in 1776, and have operated here so as to call forth two classes of Militia, and lay an embargo on the vessels. In short, there never was a time when animation and exertion were more necessary." Etc.

- 303 **Reed, Joseph. Letter, signed. Folio. 3 pages. Philadelphia.** November 15, 1779. To his Excellency Cæsar Rodney.

Very interesting letter on the subject of the enormous prices charged for commodities needed for the Army, the disinclination of the holders of provisions to sell, the measures adopted by the State of Pennsylvania to effect a reduction of prices, etc.

- 304 **Reid, James R. Member of the Continental Congress.** Major in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Philadelphia, May 5, 1788. To General Peter Muhlenberg, Vice-President of Pennsylvania.

On the subject of his pay as a Member of Congress.

Splendid specimen. Rare.

- 305 **Roberdeau, Daniel. Signer of the Articles of Confederation.** Brigadier-General in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. York Town, October 1, 1777. To Thomas Wharton, President of Pennsylvania.

* * * "The Express gives a verbal account that two Spys were discovered by some Continental Troops round our General Clinton's quarters, habited like unto the British Soldiers for the very purpose. The Spys asked * * * where General Clinton was, for they had some things to communicate. They were told they would be conducted to him. When they came into his presence, with much surprise, they said he was not the Gen. Clinton they inquired for. He replied he could do their business, and accordingly ordered them to be hanged in an hour; but, upon discovering some important intelligence, they were respited. In consequence of this information, etc., Gen. Clinton, Gov. Clinton and Gen. Putnam were suddenly in motion. The number of Troops under their command, or the number of the Enemy, or their movements, are all unknown. A singular anecdote I must not omit. One of the Spys, when discovered, swallowed a small silver ball, which he was made to disgorge by the immediate application of an Emetic. It contained intelligence from the British officer Clinton, who commanded at the Highlands, to Gen. Burgoyne." Etc.

- 306 Rodgers, John. Patriotic Presbyterian Clergyman. Chaplain of the New York Provincial Congress and of General Heath's brigade. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 3 pages. Ameniam, February 10, 1779. To Elisha Boudinot.

* * * "The prospect of the evacuation of New York rather darkens. I have very little hope of getting into it next Spring for my own part, tho' there are many I find have. Should Britain in the madness of her Pride declare war against France, it will doubtless be the Gibraltar of America. I am waiting, with the Prophet Jonah of old, under my Gourd, to see what will become of the City, tho' I trust with a better temper. I am however laying out my affairs for another Summer's Exile, tho' I know not where I shall spend it, here or elsewhere." Etc.

Letter of Cæsar Rodney, giving an account of the uprising of the people of Massachusetts and Connecticut against the British, one year before the Battle of Lexington.

- 307 Rodney, Cæsar. Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. Philadelphia, September 19, 1774.

Extremely interesting historical letter.

* * * "Some time ago, I do not doubt but you were all much alarmed on a Report that the King's ships were firing on the Town of Boston. When that news came to this City, the Bells were muffled and kept ringing all that day. However, in a few days after, that news was contradicted here, and hope by this time it is so with you. By some late very authentic accounts from Boston Government to the gentlemen of that place now at the Congress we are informed that there was about three days between this Report's passing through the Massachusetts and Connecticut Governments and its being contradicted. That when the Expresses went to contradict this false Report, they found in those two Governments, in different parties, upward of fifty thousand men, well armed, actually on their march to Boston for the relief of the inhabitants; and that every farmer who had a cart or waggon, and not able to bear arms, were with them, loaded with provisions, ammunition and baggage, etc.; all headed by experienced officers who had served in the late American War; and that vast numbers more were preparing to march. Upon the news being contradicted, they returned peaceably to their several places of abode; but not till they had sent some of their officers from the different parties to Boston, to know the real situation of affairs there, and to direct them what principal officers in the different parts of the country they should hereafter send Expresses to, in case they should stand in need of their assistance. It is supposed by some of the friends of Liberty at Boston that the alarm was set on foot by some of the friends to the ministerial plan, in order to try whether there was that true valour in the people. If this was the case, I suppose you will think with me that by this time they can have no doubts remaining. Indeed I think it is proved by the General's own conduct; for ever since that, he has been fortifying himself, which I imagine is more for his own security than to attack the inhabitants." Etc.

Colonel Rodney at the Battle of Trenton, and his narration of the vision which appeared to him just previous to entering the army.

- 308 Rodney, Thomas. Member of the Continental Congress. Colonel in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 3 pages. Prison, September 18, 1791. To Abraham Pryor.

Remarkable letter, written from prison (where he was confined for debt), giving an account of the part he had taken in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, and narrating a curious dream or vision that he had just prior to entering the army.

* * * "At the most important period of the American Revolution, to wit, in December 1776, when the mind of America seemed to fail and a general damp of spirit seemed to indicate that all was lost, I turned out at the head of a small voluntary corps; and at the head of this corps, at the most important crisis, the most critical moment of danger, lead the van of the American Army on the night of the Second of January 1777, from Trenton to Prince Town, and was in the thick of the fire of that glorious action next morning which restored the affairs of America; and then lead the van of the American Army in Triumph to Morris Town, where the light Infantry Regiment I then commanded (composed of my own Company and four of Philadelphia) acted as guards to the Commander in Chief until I left Morristown to return home, leaving all in prosperity. Since which I have experienced the highest honors and confidence the State had to bestow, and am conscious of having discharged my duty in all of them with a degree of integrity and faithfulness, and perhaps with a degree of ability, which the State itself is unacquainted with. Yet what persecution have I suffered since! Where am I now? Whence do I write this to you? Is it not from Prison?" * * * "I must tell you one thing more, that Human mind alone is incapable of performing what I have already passed through. Before I went out in December 1776, I was visited by that Prime Archangel, who among men is called Michael. He appeared in all the lustre and splendor of Celestial Excellence, and conversed with me as a man with his friend, and showed me what should be immediately done for America, and with all delivered the awful message and promise of 'The Most High God,' for so he styled the Deity, 'That if there was but one perfect man found in America, that he would save the country by his hands or for his sake.' Believe not that the American Revolution was the mere act of man; for it was most certainly conducted by the Providence of the 'Most High God.' It was this that actuated my mind; and I saw within thirty days afterwards the success which he had shown me accomplished; and this is the power that has supported my mind through every difficulty." Etc.

- 309 Root, Jesse. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. Coventry, January 2, 1819. To Honorable Sylvester Gilbert.

Interesting historical letter, in which he narrates the facts relating to the supply of military stores sent by the King of France to the Americans, under cover of a commercial transaction between the latter and Beaumarchais.

* * * "The claim of Beaumarchais is before Congress in favour of his heirs. I being a Member of Congress in A. D. 1778 would state some facts that came
" within

within my knowledge. The King of France, being in favour of the Revolution of these Colonies before the treaty of alliance formed with them, sent the supplies, for which this claim is made, under cover of a mercantile transaction, of which Beaumarchais was the constituted agent, and the business to be transacted for the Crown under cover of his name. The supplies were received and acknowledged as coming from the Crown, with the strongest expressions of gratitude; not the least idea suggested or entertained of being indebted for them to anybody; and this was to be kept a profound secret. After this transaction, the British Court, being jealous of the King of France, demanded of him a categorical answer to the question whether he had not aided and assisted the Colonies by sending them military stores and munitions of war; to which a direct negative was given. After this, the Committee of Congress for Foreign Affairs appointed Thomas Paine their Secretary, who was a flaming Whig and wrote much. He published in one of the newspapers the grand present we had received from the King of France, under the signature of Secretary of Foreign Affairs. This paper went to England, and excited strong feelings towards the King of France, and he was charged with directly falsifying the truth. Upon which he sent over to the French Minister then residing at Congress, for them to vindicate his character by contradicting the publication in the paper by Thomas Paine. Accordingly, a Memorial was presented to Congress for that purpose. Congress was in great perplexity what to do; but nothing short of a direct contradiction of the account published in the paper would be accepted. And thereupon Congress was obliged to pass a Resolution that the account in the paper of the present of military stores from the King of France, published under the signature of Thomas Paine, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, was a falsehood; as it was in one sense; it being a direct violation of our engagement to keep it a profound secret." Etc, etc.

Patriotism of the inhabitants of Lancaster County as shown in their petition that the whole strength of Pennsylvania and neighboring States be called into service.

- 310 Ross, George. Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Letter signed. Folio. 2 pages. (Also signed by William Henry, Christopher Marshall and others). December, 1777. To the General Assembly of Representatives of the State of Pennsylvania.

The earnest and patriotic request of the inhabitants of Lancaster County, that the whole strength of Pennsylvania may be called into the field against the enemy.

"We have with the highest concern, as well as wonder, looked on, while an Army of about Ten Thousand Men have taken from the Continent the Capital of this State and have seated themselves down in the (almost) quiet possession thereof. And our breasts already anticipate those scenes of woe and desolation which must be the propable consequences of next Summer's campaign, in case the Enemy now here should not only remain unsubdued but be made strong by large Reenforcements. For a time we hoped

"that

that, before the end of the Campaign, some good improvement would have been made of our great successes at the Northward; which put it in the power of the Continent to turn their united force against the remaining Army of the Enemy. When this hope failed, we then looked forward to that season wherein it is expected the Enemy, with a large part of their Fleet, will be shut up in the heart of our Country; and flattered ourselves that some effectual blow would then be struck. That season now draws near, and we see no preparation making for that purpose; which constrains us to speak out, and look up to you, Sirs, as the Guardians of our devoted State. And, Gentlemen, what we devoutly wish for, and pray you to consider of, is that the most immediate and effectual measures be taken to call forth (as near as possible) the whole strength of this, and the neighboring States, against our Enemies; and especially to improve the favourable opportunity which Nature, or rather the God of Nature, may afford, while the Schuylkill is froze and the navigation of Delaware obstructed, to make the most vigorous efforts to destroy or get into our hands both the Army and Fleet of our Enemy. This, in our opinion, is an Event at once so practicable, so great in itself, so happy and glorious in its consequences, and at the same time so much danger in the neglecting of it, as to be highly worthy of the most immediate and vigorous pursuit, even in the face of all the inclemency of the season and every other difficulty which stands in the way." Etc, etc.

- 311 Ross, George. Autograph Document, signed. Quarto. August 17, 1776. Signed as Colonel "of the Flying Camp."

Acknowledging that he has taken out of the Public Stock the sum of three hundred pounds, to be applied to the payment of the bounty ordered by the Convention to the volunteers of his battalion.

Fine specimen, dated the month after the Declaration of Independence.

- 312 Rutledge, John. Signer of the Constitution of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 4 pages. Charles Town, November 29, 1777. To Henry Laurens.

Interesting letter on public affairs; congratulating Laurens on his election as President of the Continental Congress; expressing his opinion of Duché's letter to General Washington, etc.

"I thank you for the copy of Mr. Duché's letter, and really know not which to be most amazed at, his Villainy or his Impudence. I think, however, it was a pitiful Shift of General Howe's. How little does he yet know of America!" * * * "Give me leave to congratulate you on being elected President of Congress. I know the office will involve you in a multiplicity of business and great fatigue; but you are a man of business, and will disregard fatigue when the enduring it assists our Cause. The choice affords me much pleasure, because, without compliment, I am certain Congress have not a member so fit for the chair; and they have, in this instance, not only shown themselves sensible of Merit, but paid it due Honour." Etc.

- 313 Schuyler. Peter. Colonial Governor of New York. Commanded the army that was sent against the French and Indians in 1691. Document, signed. Folio. Albany, August 5, 1702.

Report upon the petition of some military officers that certain necessities may be allowed them.

- 314 Schuyler, Philip. Major-General in the Revolutionary War. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. Albany, December 8, 1781. To Lord Stirling.

* * * "St. Leger left Chimney Point on or about the 8th instant with his troops in batteaux, but the vessels did not sail until the 19th or 20th; and I have no doubt but that they are prevented from reaching St. Johns, as the frost has undoubtedly rendered the lake impassable from Windmill Point to that place. In eight or ten days I shall be able to ascertain this matter; and, should my conjecture be realized, I think it would be an object for a small excursion. Major Ross arrived at Buck Island with 210 men only, and these in such a shocking condition that the better half will probably never recover. This account comes by a Sergeant of the levies, who was taken last summer and made his escape from Buck Island." Etc.

- 315 Searle, James. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Bordentown, March 14, 1788. To Peter Borgen.

On business and family affairs.

- 316 Sedgwick, John. Major-General in the Civil War. Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo, 2 pages. Headquarters, April 8, 1862.

Recommendation for military appointment. *Rare.*

- 317 Sergeant, John. Missionary to the Indians. He translated the New Testament, and some portions of the Old, into the Indian tongue. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. Housatunnuk, May 14, 1739. To Rev. Stephen Williams.

Long and interesting letter, giving an account of the propagation of religion "among our Indians," a literal translation of some very remarkable messages sent by the Showanoos, etc.

After giving the translation, he continues: "The Showanoos live scarcely 200 miles distant from us towards the West. They are in strict alliance with the *River Indians*, whom they acknowledge as their *Patrons*; having been transplanted by them some years ago out of their own Country, which is at a great distance towards the West or South West, after they were almost rooted out and destroyed by their enemies, and settled down upon Susquahanna River. They live in three Towns. Alkhauwaumuk, I suppose, is the biggest; having by all account near five hundred souls in it. The Town upon the river Spunnauwah is about 40 miles distant from it. The Great Island, I suppose, is not far distant from Alkhauwaumuk. There is frequent intercourse between our Indians and the Showanoos. The River Indians live interspersed with them. Annauwauneeckheek (who is a Christian and one of our communion) has lived in their Country and married his wife from thence."

* * * "I have long entertained a design of making a visit to these Showanoos, and to open a way, if possible, for the introducing Christianity among them. And if God has a design of mercy on them, I doubt not but his gracious Providence will find persons qualified to undertake a Mission to them, and support them in it." Etc.

- 318 Sherburne, John S. Major in the Revolutionary War. Lost a leg at the battle of Butt's Hill, Rhode Island. United States District Judge. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 3 pages. Portsmouth, New Hampshire, June 21, 1801. To Honorable James Madison.

Expressing his pleasure at the appointment of Madison as Secretary of State; relating how, under the previous Administration, New Hampshire had been insulted by the appointment of old Tories and the most embittered Federalists, etc., etc.

- 319 Smith, Charles Ferguson. Major-General in the Civil War. The hero of Fort Donelson. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 3 pages. West Point, June 15, 1842. To Lieutenant Irwin McDowell.

Relative to the regulations for the government and discipline of the cadets at West Point. Fine specimen. *Very rare.*

- 320 Smith, James. Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. (Also signed by Abraham Clark and John Henry). 2 pages. York, March 18, 1778. To His Excellency Thomas Wharton, Jr., President of the State of Pennsylvania.

Letter of a Committee of Congress, relative to the case of Hon. John Penn and Benjamin Chew, held as prisoners of the United States.

"Your Excellencies letter in Council of the 7th instant, relative to the Prisoners sent from the State of Pennsylvania to Virginia, was read in Congress; and a resolution thereupon entered into, directing the Board of War to deliver them to the order of your State." * * * "The latter part of the letter, which mentions the case of the Hon'ble John Penn and Benj'n Chew, Esquires, occasions the subscribers to trouble your Excellency herewith; they having been appointed by Congress a Committee to correspond with your State and bring in a report to Congress on that subject. Those gentlemen as Crown officers, and holding Commissions under the authority of the King of Great Britain prior to the Declaration of Independency, and yet taking no active part (that we know of) against us since that period, renders their situation very peculiar. In the first point of view, they seem, under their present restraint, prisoners of the United States. What is to be done with them, consistent with justice and the public safety, is a question of much importance. If enlarged, and permitted to go into Philadelphia, what mischief may our enemies do, under a colour of their authority, even without their consent. If permitted to go at large in those parts of Pennsylvania in possession of the Whigs, as they are so intermixed with Tories, very mischievous consequences may arise. If confined in Pennsylvania for refusing a Test, it may occasion discontent and caballing. Congress have no objection (we are inclined to think) to their being returned, under the authority of the State, provided it can be done without danger to the State of Pennsylvania in particular, or the United States in general." Etc.

Splendid specimen.

- 321 Smith, Jonathan Bayard. Signer of the Articles of Confederation. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Lancaster, December 22, 1777. To the President of Pennsylvania.

On public affairs.

- 322 **Smith, Thomas.** Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. Bedford, March 31, 1777.

Interesting letter in relation to the alarming situation of the frontiers in Pennsylvania, etc.

* * * "I find the situation of the Frontiers is truly alarming. The rumor which we at first heard, and which we were afterwards lead to disbelieve, is I doubt but too well founded. The bearer has letters which will inform you of one man being killed, another missing, and of such other circumstances as will, I hope, induce you to use your influence to prevent Crawford's Battalion from being called down. If you only consider that there has been 1500 men raised in that part of the country in little more than a year, and that above 1000 of them have already been called away, you must be convinced beyond a doubt that, if this Battalion is also to leave the frontiers, the Inhabitants will be in a most defenceless and deplorable situation, and will be entirely at the mercy of *Indians* conducted by *Britons*, who, by what we have lately experienced, we have the greatest reason to believe will lead them to commit acts of Barbarity which, inhuman as they are, they have been hitherto strangers to. Add to this that the country has been drained of arms, far beyond what in prudence ought to have been done. But we trust that that assistance which they have been so ready to give to other parts of the Continent in the day of need, will be amply returned to themselves."

* * * "Those contemptible wretches, the *Assembly* as they call themselves, would really divert me by their conduct, were we not in the situation we are at present. Contempt and indignation could not prevent you from smiling were you to hear of the ridiculous lies, old women's stories, and poor pitiful shifts they make use of through the country to prop their usurped authority. I am sure there are some men *even in that House* who are ashamed of such conduct in the rest." * * * "Again my attention is recalled to my first subject. For these two days our Town has been like a fair with the poor People, with their little all, flying and panic struck. Indeed, my dear Sir, it will be inviting the Indians to fall on us, if at least a part of the Troops are not left to guard us." Etc.

- 323 **St. Clair, Sir John.** Brigadier-General in the French and Indian War. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. Philadelphia, April 20, 1758.

Letter written to Colonel George Washington, expressing pleasure at hearing the news that he is well enough to make the campaign with General Forbes, etc.

* * * "It was very acceptable news to Gen'l Forbes, Major Halkett and myself, to hear you was so well as to be able to make the Campaign with us." * * * "Be so good as to tell Mr. Gist that I received his Letter last night, and have received orders from Gen'l Forbes to provide everything the Indians may want. I have sent to Winchester about 60 fuzees with 100 match coats, and am now about collecting 300 arms more, with other Indian goods, all which shall be sent from hence so soon as possible." Etc.

- 324 **Stephen, Adam.** Major-General in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. Berkeley County, December, 6, 1778. To John Pemberton.

In relation to the death of Captain White Eyes, of the Delaware Indians; Mr. Wharton's return from exile, etc.

Fine specimen. *Rare*.

**General Steuben's military career, as narrated
by himself; and complains of Congress
acknowledging the services of other
foreigners, while not his.**

- 325 Steuben, Frederick William Augustus. Baron. Major-General in the Revolutionary War. Letter, signed. Folio. 6 pages. To the President of the Continental Congress.

Important historical letter, in which Steuben narrates his military services here and abroad, urges Congress to give him some adequate payment, etc.

After stating the various military appointments he has held under the King of Prussia and the Margrave of Baden, he continues:—"It is not my intention, Sir, to hold myself up, during the course of five campaigns, as claiming any singular merit. I feel peculiarly happy in the reflection that I have done my duty to the utmost of my power. Let my services speak for themselves. Yet I am authorized to observe that they have been such as ought to have entitled me at least to equal attention with other foreigners, though Facts speak otherwise. The late Baron de Kalb obtained of Congress fifteen thousand livres to defray the expenses of his voyage to America. Monsieur de Coudrois and many others have received acknowledgments of a similar nature. Congress voted General Lea thirty thousand dollars to indemnify him for monies said to have been lodged in English funds; while my situation has been passed by comparatively unnoticed. On my arrival at York Town, Congress deputed a Committee to confer with me on the conditions under which I proposed to enter their service, and enquire what engagements I had entered into with Doctor Franklin and Mr. Dean at Paris. I told them that I had not entered into any conditions with the American Ministers, neither was it my intention to enter into any with Congress; that I only desired to serve as a Volunteer, without either rank or pay; and that I required no other reward than the necessary expenses of my table, until my services should prove my title. In the year 1779, when I saw that no attention was paid to my unwearied exertions, and that the distresses to which I was reduced, without resources and without friends, were utterly neglected, I determined to retire from service. I communicated my intentions to the members of the Board of war, who proposed a personal application to Congress; but as I had previously determined on the contrary, a representation was made on their part. Congress accordingly appointed a Committee to examine my Pretensions, and in consequence of their report granted me the sum of two hundred and fifty guineas, to defray the expenses of my voyage from Europe and about four hundred and fifty guineas more, on account." * * * "Previous to my leaving Philadelphia, I represented to the Ministers of War and Finance the absolute necessity there was, from my peculiar situation in the Army, to have my ordinary expenses paid. That while other officers were stationed with their respective Divisions, Brigades and Corps, and could consequently avail themselves of their ordinary supplies the nature of my duty kept me in constant motion from one Division of the Army, and even from one Army to the other; necessarily subjecting me to all the expenses incident to travelling." * * * "I have even been cheerfully disposed to draw an equal lot with those truly brave men whose sufferings have long since called aloud for speedy redress; with them have I frequently wanted the conveniences and even necessities of life; and if my duty confined me to Camp or Quarters, I should not conceive myself entitled to any extraordinary privilege. Hitherto I have never made a Requisition of any kind to Congress, and I entreat your Excellency to be persuaded that it is with singular pain I am compelled to make one at this time." * * * "Do Congress then conceive the Department of Inspector General to be necessary in the Army or not? If they do, should it not be supported in the discharge of those duties which alone constitute its utility? If they do not, should it not be annihilated?" Etc.

- 326 **Stewart, Charles.** Member of the Continental Congress. Colonel in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Camp, June 30, 1781. To Colonel Humphreys.

In relation to supplies of provisions for the army. *Fine specimen.*

- 327 **Stirling, William Alexander.** Lord. Major-General in the Revolutionary War. Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. July 6, 1755. To Governor Morris.

* * * "Gen. Shirley arrived at New York last Wednesday evening, and embarked again for Albany on Friday in the evening. Yesterday was a week since he left Boston. His stay at that place so long was absolutely necessary. Indeed, if he had not stayed the Crown Point Expedition must have been given up, for it has been with the utmost difficulty that he has got a Train of Artillery for that service." * * * "The stores of all kinds for our Expedition are gone forward. Col. Schuyler with his Regiment is by this time, I suppose, gone from Skenactady; and Col. Ellison about setting out from thence, for he arrived there with the whole of that Regiment last Monday. Col. Mercer, with the remaining six companies (which are about 500 each) of Sir William's Regiment, is about three miles ahead of us on his way to Albany." * * * "We left New York in high spirits, as we had just received the confirmation of the good news from Admiral Boscawen. A war seems now really unavoidable, and it's like to be a new fashion one; an Army and a prodigious Fleet in North America, and the English Nation behaving with Spirit enough to terrify all Europe!" Etc.

- 328 **Stockton, Annis.** Wife of Richard Stockton, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and sister of Elias Boudinot. Well known for her literary attainments. Wrote a number of poems. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. To Major Aaron Burr.

Sending a poem on the death of General Richard Montgomery. (The poem is missing).

"As some weeks elapsed before anything appeared on the death of your friend, the enclosed lines was wrote by a Lady as an apology for the public and at the same time her mite in the treasury to the mighty debt due from America to the memory of that brave man. A copy of them is presented to you by one who claims a share in your friendship both on her own account and on account of that place she once had the happiness of possessing in the hearts of both your worthy parents; whose remembrance is still dear to her and ever will. May the recollection of their characters make you strive to imitate them in virtue and piety until you become a finished Christian and may the example of your beloved friend, Montgomery, make you a hero. May God preserve you in the day of danger, shall be the prayer of your friend,"

Graphic description of St. Clair's defeat by the Indians.

- 329 Symmes, John Cleves. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 14 pages. North Bend, January 12, 1792. To Elias Boudinot.

A very long and highly interesting historical letter on St. Clair's defeat by the Indians, its causes, the character of Indian warfare, etc.

* * * "Before this time you must have been made acquainted with the dreadful misfortunes attending the last summer's operations. I expect that reasons have been assigned to government for the total overthrow of our army. It is natural for doctors to assign causes for the death of their patients, but the causes assigned are not always the real ones." * * * "I will acknowledge I had no idea that our army would have been destroyed in the course of three hours; for it was impossible for any one to suppose that the army was at any time to be crowded together on a few acres of ground, and liable to be surrounded by half their number of Indians, whose every shot could not fail of killing or wounding three or four of our men, while our platoons, in returning their fire, three times in four saw not an Indian, they being hid behind trees. But still our men fired on, mechanically, at they knew not what. From the first week in June onward till I went to Gallipolis in October, I discovered evident symptoms of very great disappointments and miscarriage in the course of the campaign. I knew with certainty that there must be a great failure in the supplies for the army as they advanced to the Northward, if the early part of the season was lost." * * * "There were three or four companies then at Headquarters which might have been employed to much better purpose in building a fort and cabins at New Chillicothe, than to be kept shut up in the town of Cincinnati for several months, where they were debauching themselves and the citizens by their mischievous intercourse with each other." * * * "From New Chillicothe detachments of horse should have been frequently sent, sometimes towards Sandusky and sometimes towards the Maumee villages. These should have blazed the trees on every of their routs, as tho they were making the way for a much larger army to follow in a short time. This would have kept the Indians in continual alarms from Sandusky bay to Eel River, that they would never have known at what point to have collected their force; as the inhabitants of each village would not have forsaken the defence of their own horde; and the grand movement might have been made in September, after all the troops had arrived, without any considerable opposition. New Chillicothe, or some better ground near it, is more proper, on every account, than the place where Fort Jefferson is built, to be made our barrier to the Indians, until we can possess ourselves of their country." * * * "The delays attending the movements of our army were ruinous to the last degree. From June to September the army seemed motionless. It is true all the troops expected had not arrived, but the greatest sufficiency had arrived in this period to have built a chain of small forts along the East bank of the Miami from Colerain to New Chillicothe. This work might have been done while the troops which had already arrived were idle, and would have wholly saved the months of September and October, which were lost in building Fort Hamilton and Fort

"Jefferson

Jefferson. Another advantage would have accrued. By lining the east bank of the Great Miami with a chain of small forts in the former part of the season; and making a long stay at New Chilcothe from June to September, the Indians would have been deceived in our main object. They would have considered our plan of operations rather as defensive than offensive." * * * "But the moment that the troops crossed the Miami at Fort Hamilton, every old squaw must have known that the views of the main army were offensive and against what towns their designs were." * * * "The army seemed unwieldly. Too great a proportion of the privates appeared to be totally debilitated and rendered incapable of this service either from their youth (mere boys) or by their excessive intemperance and abandoned habits. These men who are to be purchased from the prisons, wheelbarrows and brothels of the nation at two dollars per month, will never answer our purposes for fighting of Indians." * * * "It is to be considered that every Indian is in fact a general in his way, and must be opposed by a combatant equally skilled in all their cunning and artifice. Sure I am that one hundred Marlboroughs could not fight fifty Indians in the woods with success. What then had we to expect from the dint of so unequal a conflict, when three fourths of our troops were altogether unworthy such service, unless their great inferiority could be more than compensated by the superior and brilliant talents of their general, as well with regard to his alertness and activity in his motions, as with respect to his wise and judicious plan of decisive operations, in which his abilities were more than a match for Indian subtlety." * * * "Not only many of the militia had absented themselves previous to the day of action, but the first regiment, which was in fact the best part and flower of the army, all things considered, was also absent. The Indians no doubt took advantage of this defection in our numbers, as they certainly were apprized of the return of so considerable a part of the army. This circumstance, added to the unaccountable disposition of our army, so favorable to the views of the enemy, could not fail of inviting them to the attack, in which they saw success certain." Etc., etc.

- 330 Tallmadge, Benjamin. Colonel in the Revolutionary War. Aide to Washington. Had the custody of Major André until his execution. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. Washington, January 1, 1803. To Colonel Stockholm.

Business letter.

- 331 Taylor, Zachary. President of the United States. Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Baton Rouge, August 14, 1848.

In relation to the loss of his grade and rank as Major-General, after the close of the Mexican War.

* * * "It would be deemed an act of supererogation in me now to address to the War Department such a communication as that indicated in your letter. It was always my expectation to have been dropped as the junior officer, in accordance with the established usage of the army in such case, had the President been called upon to execute the law of June '46, authorizing an additional Major-General; and I was accordingly prepared to receive, at any moment, an order to that effect." Etc.

**Patriotic Letter on the subject of the at-
tack on the United States frigate
"Chesapeake."**

- 332 Telfair, Edward. Signer of the Articles of Confederation. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. Savannah, August 6, 1807. To Major-General David Mitchell.

* * * "I say that George the Third of England, before and ever since the *Tea* experiment at Boston, has been and ever will be the enemy of these United States, and of that great body of the people who are the defenders and supporters of them. To support my position, I have only to look back to the ratification. Says he to his Parliament, "I have ratified the independence of the United States, and hope to God that the Nation may not repent of it. I have not yet lost sight of the Americans." I cannot longer dwell on such a wretch and bloody beast.—The people here do believe from what they have seen of the proceedings of the Executives of the other States, that the Secretary of War must have transmitted to our Governor the requisition for our quota of the one hundred thousand men for the defense of the United States, to be drawn and ready at a moment's warning." Etc.

- 333 Tennent, William. Presbyterian clergyman of New Jersey. Noted for his trance; a full account of which was published in his Memoir. Document, signed. Folio. November 16, 1767.

Relating to the settlement of the estate of his brother, the celebrated Gilbert Tennent.

- 334 Thompson, William. Brigadier-General in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages Fort Lyttleton, August 17, 1756.

Letter written when a lieutenant in the French and Indian War; telling of an alarm in the middle of the night, the expectation of an attack by the French and Indians, and the determination to make the best possible defense, etc., etc.

- 335 Thompson, Charles. Secretary of the Continental Congress. Document, signed. Folio. April 8, 1781.

"The United States in Congress assembled having received intelligence that an embarkation of a body of troops is in forwardness at New York, the object of which is the taking possession of the neck of land lying between the head of Chesapeake bay and the river Delaware, whereby all the stores and provisions on the peninsula may fall into the hands of the Enemy unless immediately removed: Ordered, That the Board of War take immediate measures for the removal of the public stores within the said peninsula. And that it be and hereby is recommended to the Executives of the States of Delaware, Maryland and Virginia, to take the like measures with respect to all the provisions and forage belonging to the said States respectively, or to the citizens thereof, which will not be necessary for the consumption of the inhabitants."

- 336 Tilghman, Tench. Colonel in the Revolutionary War. Aide to General Washington. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Head-Quarters, October 6, 1776. To the Deputy Commissary at Rye.

Stating that General Washington desires him immediately to forward tents, etc.

- 337 Trumbull, John. Celebrated painter. Aide to General Washington. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. London, September 5, 1800. To Samuel M. Hopkins.

Fine personal letter.

- 338 **Truxton, Thomas.** **Commodore United States Navy.**
Served in the Revolutionary War, etc. Congress gave him a gold medal for his victory over the "Vengeance." Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 6 pages. Perth Amboy, March 19, 1804. To Aaron Burr, Vice President of the United States.

Long and interesting letter on the subject of the conduct on the Tripolitan War; giving his opinion of the merits and demerits of the different Naval officers engaged in the blockade of Tripoli, and severely criticising Commodore Preble and some others.

- 339 **Van Dam, Rip.** **Colonial Governor of New York.**
Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo. New York, June 1, 1732. To Mr. Morris.

Directing him to grant a license to John Morgen for a ferry, to be kept by him at Staten Island to the "Jarseys."

General Van Schaick's account of the Onondaga expedition.

- 340 **Van Schaick, Gozen.** **Distinguished Lieutenant-Colonel in the French and Indian War.** Brigadier-General in the Revolutionary War. Served at the Battle of Monmouth. Commanded the expedition which destroyed the Onondaga settlements in 1779; for which service Congress gave him a vote of thanks. Document, signed. Folio. 4 pages. Fort Schuyler, March 14, 1779.

Historical document of the greatest interest and importance; being Van Schaick's journal or detailed account of the Onondaga expedition. The document is perfectly preserved and in beautiful condition.

- 341 **Varnum, James Mitchel.** **Brigadier-General in the Revolutionary War.** Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Document, signed. Folio. October 1, 1788.

Acknowledgment of the enlistment of a soldier, and his oath of fidelity, taken before Varnum as a Judge of the North West Territory.

- 342 **Ward, Samuel.** **Colonel in the Revolutionary War.** Member of the Annapolis Convention, and of the Hartford Convention. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. New York, January 12, 1797. To Henry Kuhl.

On financial business.

- 343 **Washington, George.** **President of the United States.**
Document, signed. Folio. Head-Quarters, June 11. 1783.

Certificate, given as "General and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of the United States of America," of six years' faithful service of John Desmond in the Invalid Regiment, and of his discharge from the American Army. Also signed by Jonathan Trumbull, Aide to Washington, and by Colonel Lewis Nicola.

- 344 Wayne, Anthony. Major-General in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 4 pages. Lancaster, May 16, 1781. To General Joseph Reed.

On the subject of necessities for the supply of his army, then on its march to Yorktown, Va.; the critical situation of Southern affairs, etc.

* * * "I am next to inform Council that cattle are wanted, and may be procured to serve the Detachment until we arrive in Virginia, provided the contractors of Lancaster and York counties had orders for the purpose. I wish, if possible, to receive about sixty head by next Monday or Tuesday, at which period the Fifth Regiment will reach Yorktown." * * * "In order that no time may be lost, I will endeavor to have everything in perfect readiness to take up our line of march from the General rendezvous immediately after their arrival. 17th N. B. Before this was dispatched, I rec'd letters from the Board of War, the Gov'r of Virginia, and the Marquis Lafayette, of the most alarming nature, and pressing for the advance of the troops under my command with all possible expedition. I have therefore directed Mr. Henry to begin his work, and shall call upon the purchasing Commissary for some cattle, in full confidence that Council will adopt the measure and make due allowances for a Conduct only warranted by necessity and the critical situation of our Southern affairs."

Fine specimen.

- 345 Wayne, Anthony. Document, signed. Quarto. (With one line in his handwriting). Philadelphia, December 24, 1784.

Receipt for his pay as a member of the Assembly.

- 346 Webster, Fletcher. Son of Daniel Webster. Colonel of the 12th Massachusetts regiment in the Civil War. Killed at the second battle of Bull Run. Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo. 2 pages. Department of State, February 1, 1842. To Messrs. Breckenridge and Marcy.

Introducing Mr. Ayres.

- 347 Weiser, Conrad. Indian interpreter. Noted for his influence with the Indians. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Heidleberg, Lancaster County, February 20, 1750. To Governor Hamilton.

In relation to a complaint made to him, as a magistrate, that "one John Toby, a Nanticook Indian, had ravaged or attempted to ravage a girl of about eight years of age"; stating that he had committed the Indian, had had the girl examined, etc.

- 348 Wharton, Samuel. Member of the Continental Congress. Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo. February 15, 1782. To John Todd.

Rare.

- 349 White, Anthony Walton. Colonel in the Revolutionary War. Commanded the cavalry after the defeat at Monk's Corner. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. New Brunswick, October 22, 1788. To John Neilson.

On business affairs.

Interesting Letter in relation to Philadelphia during the prevalence of the yellow fever.

- 350 **Wilkinson, James.** Brigadier-General in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 3 pages. Fort Jefferson, December 11, 1793. To General Anthony Wayne.

"Conceiving it possible that you may not have received any very recent or particular information from Philadelphia, I consider it my duty to inform your Excellency that by letters (which came to hand last evening), as late as the 10th ultimo, I am well assured that the fatal disease which had overwhelmed the Metropolis of the Nation in sorrow and distress, had absolutely ceased, and that four or five thousand of the fugitive citizens had returned to the City; that Market street was then as full of waggons as usual; and that business in general had begun to assume its usual aspect. Mr. Biddle writes me that the President was at Germantown on the 6th ultimo, and that all the great officers of State had returned and were within the City or its vicinity. Yet the people of New York were intriguing to carry the ensuing Session of Congress to that City; and as they practice all manner of falsehood and imposition to accomplish their point, the event remained doubtful." * * * "4031 deaths only are registered; so that it is probable the whole amount do not exceed 5000. During the rage of the malady, 17000 persons withdrew from the Metropolis, and the scenes which took place within it exceed all credibility. Husbands flying from wives, wives from husbands; parents from children and children from parents; servants and masters, abandoned alike and left to perish for want of assistance, make a part of the horrible picture." Etc.

- 351 **Willett, Marinus.** Colonel in the Revolutionary War. Commanded Fort Stanwix at the time it was invested by Colonel Barry St. Leger. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Wilmington, December 14, 1796.

Very fine specimen, with full signature. On business affairs.

Letters of the Rev. John Williams, of Massachusetts, and members of his family, who were captured by the indians in 1704.

- 352 **Williams family.** A series of letters of Rev. John Williams (first Minister of Deerfield, Massachusetts), his children, and a number of his descendants, etc.

On February 29, 1704, the town of Deerfield was taken and burnt by a party of French and Indians, a number of the townspeople slain, and about 100 of them carried into captivity to Canada. Among the number taken captives were Rev. John Williams, his wife (who was murdered on the way), and all his children except the two youngest (who were killed) and the eldest, Eleazar (who was not at home). They were taken to Montreal, where they remained until October 25, 1706, when the survivors were sent to Boston. Mr. Williams published "The Redeemed Captive," an interesting narrative of his adventures.

The series contains the following letters:—

- A **Williams, Rev. John.** First minister of Deerfield. Author of "The Redeemed Captive." Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Deerfield, February 3, 1726-7. To his son.

- B Williams, Rev. Stephen. Son of Rev. John Williams. Carried captive to Canada. First minister of Long Meadow, Massachusetts. Chaplain in the French and Indian War. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Stillwater, July 28, 1755. To his wife.
- C Williams, Rev. Warham. Son of Rev. John Williams. Carried captive to Canada. Minister of Watertown, Massachusetts. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. College, March 13, 1723. To his brother.
- D Williams, Esther. Daughter of Rev. John Williams. Became the wife of Rev. Joseph Meacham. Carried captive to Canada. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Watertown, May 9, 1712. To her brother.
- E Williams, Rev. Eleazar. Son of Rev. John Williams. The only one of the family who was not either killed or carried into captivity in 1704. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Marshfield, January 9, 1729-30. To his brother.
- F Williams, Rev. Solomon. Minister of Lebanon, Connecticut. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. October 9, 1741.
- G Williams, Rev. Abraham. Minister of Sandwich, Massachusetts. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. Sandwich, June 17, 1761. To Rev. Ezra Stiles.
- H Williams, Rev. William. Minister of Hatfield, Massachusetts. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Hatfield, August 27, 1739. To Rev. Stephen Williams.
- I Williams, Rev. William. Minister of Weston, Massachusetts. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Weston, April 25, 1720. To his father.
- J Williams, Rev. Warham. Grandson of Rev. John Williams. Minister of Northford. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. Northford, June 30, 1769. To his father.
- K Williams, Rev. Stephen. Grandson of Rev. John Williams. Minister of Woodstock, Massachusetts. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Woodstock, January 19, 1767. To his father.
- L Worthington, Rev. William. Minister of Saybrook, Connecticut. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Saybrook, April 28, 1752. To Mr. Gale.

- 533 **Wilson James. Signer of the Declaration of Independence.** Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Philadelphia, July 19, 1792. To Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Splendid specimen, on the subject of Carroll's purchase of lands in Pennsylvania.

- 354 **Wooster, David. Brigadier-General in the Revolutionary War.** Mortally wounded at Danbury. Document, signed. Folio. January 17, 1759.

Bond given to "the Governor and Company of His Majesty's English Colony of Connecticut," conditioned for the faithful discharge of Wooster's duties as paymaster of a company of foot soldiers in the campaign against the French possessions in Canada. *Fine specimen.*

- 354a **Zubly, John J. Member of the Continental Congress.** Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Middlesex, March 19, 1779. To Mrs. Mary Thomas.

ADDENDA.

- 355 Adams, John. Second President of the United States.
Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Paris, December
24, 1782.

* * * "We cannot say whether we are to have Peace or not. I wish the definitive Treaty more Signal or the Negotiations broken off that I may return to you."

- 356 Adams, John Q. President of the United States.
Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. The Hague, Feb-
ruary 5, 1797. To S. Bourne.

* * * "I see from a Statement of the votes at Philadelphia of December 17th that the Election stood a little different from what Mr. Johnson mentions to you. The votes are for Mr. Adams 71, Mr. Pinckney 53, Mr. Jefferson 49. But the returns from Kentucky and Tennessee as well as from South Carolina and Georgia, are not included in this return. All these will probably be for Mr. Jefferson, except perhaps a vote or two in Carolina. The difference therefore will not be of more than two or three votes decisive of the Election even if the Statements hitherto are accurate. So that it is yet very uncertain how it will turn, nor do I believe it material. From the reception of the President's address all over the Continent, judge whether *any* successor *would* dare or *could* effect a total departure from his system of administration."

- 357 Buchanan, James. President of the United States.
Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Lancaster, May 11,
1835. To Charles B. Penrose.

- 358 Buchanan, James. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto.
3 pages. Washington, March 15, 1844.

"I have been honored by the receipt of your kind invitation to dine with the Irishmen and the friends of Ireland of the city of Philadelphia on the approaching anniversary of Ireland's patron saint. I can assure you, with unaffected sincerity, that it would afford me heartfelt pleasure to accept your invitation, and therefore, I deeply regret that my public duties in the Senate prohibit me from leaving this city at the present period of the Session."

- 359 Buchanan, James. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto.
Wheatland, near Lancaster, May 2, 1864.

- 360 Buchanan, James. Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo.
Washington, July 8, 1859.

- 361 Fillmore, Millard. President of the United States.
Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo. Buffalo, February
16, 1860.

General Grant's letter declining to be present at the ceremonies of unveiling the monument to Abraham Lincoln, at Fairmount Park, Philadelphia.

- 362 Grant, Ulysses S. Famous American General, and President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Lebanon, Pennsylvania, September, 12, 1871.

"Mr. G. D. Coleman, at whose house I arrived an hour ago, has just handed me your letter of yesterday, urging upon me to accept an invitation to be present at the unveiling of the monument to Abraham Lincoln, in Fairmount Park, on the 22d inst. I regret that I cannot be present on so interesting an occasion. Had I known of this event before other arrangements, which can not well be changed, had been made I certainly would have entered into no engagement which would prevent my presence. But I am now on my way with my family, to visit relations & friends among whom I was raised, and who I left thirty-two years ago, and who have been advised of the time of my coming. I do not see how I can make a change now, but permit me to express, through you, the regret I feel for it.

"There are no Patriots, dead or alive, who will be remembered more gratefully for their loyalty and services to their country than the man who's memory will be commemorated at Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, on the 22nd of this September, nor none whom I more honor as a good, as well as a great man.

"I know the occasion will be an interesting one, and one long to be remembered by them who witness it, and by posterity through the accounts of it which will be published.

"With expressions of regret that I am to be debarred the duty of being with you on the 22nd inst., and of the kindest regards for the Committee who have invited me, and for yourself, I subscribe myself "With great respect

"Yours obt, sev't.

"U. S. GRANT."

- 363 Harrison, William Henry. President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. North Bend, December 25, 1839. To John Talliaferro.

"I take the liberty to enclose to you my answer to our friend Taylor's letter. I have scarcely recovered from the effect of the enormous Am't of postage I had to pay during the last contest for the Presidency & from the specimen I have had of the present instead of being marched to Washington, at its close I may be marched to Jail.

"We are going on here prosperously in our assaults on the Van Buren ranks."

General Jackson calls Henry Clay a political gambler.

- 364 Jackson, Andrew. President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Hermitage, April 30, 1825. To Henry Baldwin, Esq.

"Your observations on the circular of Mr. Clay accord entirely with the sentiment of the people in this section of country. *It is noticed as the dying struggle of a Political Gambler.* For my part I must pity him, for he seems willing to accept that of me when he throws himself into the sanctuary where Posthumous honors are paid, and where it is said there should be an end of wrath as well as oblivion of errors."

- 365 Jackson, Andrew. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Nashville, February 23, 1817.

North Bend 25th Dec 1839.

My dear Sir

I take the liberty to enclose
to you my Answer to our friend Taylor's
letter. I have so cruelly recovered from
the effects of the enormous bill of post-
age I had to pay during the last cam-
paign for the Presidency & from the
specimens I have had of the present
instead of being marched to Washington
at its close I may be marching to Laif

We are going on here prosperously
in our assaults upon the Van Buren
rank.

I am dear Sir

Yours truly

W. H. Harrison

At our

John Tallmadge Esq

Franklin Pierce's letter to William H. Seward, which created much excitement at the commencement of the Rebellion of 1861-65.

- 366 Pierce, Franklin. President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 4 pages. Andover, Massachusetts, December 24, 1861. To Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State.

"A package endorsed 'Department of State, U. S. A.,' franked by 'W. Hunter,' &c., &c., and addressed to 'Franklin Pierce, Esquire, Concord, New Hampshire,' was received by me to-day, having been forwarded from the place of my residence. But for the Stamped Envelope, and the hand-writing of Mr. Hunter, with which I am familiar, I should probably have regarded the enclosures as an idle attempt at imposition, in which your name had been surreptitiously used. I must, I suppose, though I do so reluctantly, now view it in a different light. In the note bearing your signature, you say: 'I enclose an extract from a letter received at this Department from which it would appear that you are a member of a secret league, the object of which is to overthrow this Government. Any explanations upon the subject which you may offer would be acceptable.' It is not easy to conceive how any person could give credence to, or entertain for a moment, the idea that I am now, or have ever been, connected with a secret league, or with any league the object of which was, or is, the overthrow of the Government of my country. Surprise, however, only increases as I pass from your note to the 'extract' to which you refer as a sufficient basis for an official communication. Incoherent and meaningless as this extract, from the vagaries of an anonymous correspondent, seems to me to be, it is not a little singular that it should have been sent for explanation to one who, during his whole life, has never belonged to any secret league, society or association. My name does not appear in the 'Extract,' and as there is not the slightest ground for any reference to me in the connection indicated, I take it for granted that your inference is wholly erroneous, and that neither I, nor anything which I ever said or did, was in the mind of the writer. Nothing but the gravity of the insinuation—the high official source whence it emanates, and the distracted condition of our recently united, prosperous and happy country, could possibly lift this matter above ridicule and contempt. Not, therefore, because 'Explanations would be acceptable,' but because the correspondence is to hold a place upon the files of the Department of State, long beyond the duration of your life or mine, and because I would leave, so far as I am concerned, no ambiguity upon the record, it is proper, perhaps it is my duty, to add, that my loyalty will never be successfully impugned, so long as I enjoy the constitutional rights which pertain to every Citizen of the Republic, and especially the inestimable right to be informed of the nature and cause of accusation, and to be confronted face to face with my accusers. Love for our whole country, respect for the reserved rights of the States, reverence for the Constitution, and devotion to the noble Union which for so many years reposed in security upon that sacred instrument, have been interwoven with my best hopes for civil liberty, my deepest emotions and my sternest purposes from youth to age. If I have failed to illustrate this in official station—in private life, and under all circumstances, when it became me to speak or act, I have labored under a singular delusion consciousness of which would embitter, more than anything else, the present hour and such remaining hours or years as may be in reserve for me."

- 367 Polk, James K. President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Washington City, December 13, 1827.
- 368 Polk, James K. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Washington, April 13, 1846.
- 369 Lincoln, Abraham. President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Springfield, November 25, 1849. To Honorable J. M. Clayton.
Fine specimen.
- 370 Madison, James. President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. New York, July 21, 1791.
- 371 Madison, James. Autograph Letter, signed, in the third person. Quarto. Montpellier, February 11, 1821.
- 372 Monroe, James. President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. November 14, 1814.
- 373 Monroe, James. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Oak Hill, December 16, 1827.
- 374 Taylor, Zachary. President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo. Washington City, June 9, 1850. To Honorable John M. Clayton.
Fine specimen, written one month before his death. See plate.
- 375 Tyler, John. President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Senate Chamber, March 19, 1832.
- 376 Tyler, John. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. New York, October 26, 1853.
- 377 Van Buren, Martin. President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Lindenwald, March 12, 1844.
- 378 Washington, George. Letter signed. Folio. Headquarters, West Point, September 28, 1779. To Monsieur Mountflorencia. With signature on franked address, and Washington's seal in red wax.

"I received by yesterday's Post your letter of the 30th of August and am much obliged by your power to avail myself of it. The appointment of officers is not with me, and therefore I cannot give you any assurance of your being employed; and besides this consideration, the state of the Army with respect to officers does not require any new appointments to be made. Under these circumstances I cannot think myself at liberty to encourage you to hope that one in your favor would take place—and to induce you, in consequence, to make a long, fatiguing and expensive journey.

"I am Sir

"Y'r Most obe't servant

"GEO WASHINGTON"

Hon^{ble}, J. M. Clayton, Sir

My dear Sir

I understand that Capt. God-
ard will be ready to set out for N. Orleans to-mor-
row by way of Mobile, in connection with ^{the} business
spoken of yesterday, & probably Mr. Carlile also.
I must therefore request you will if possible
make out ~~the~~ such instructions as may seem
to you necessary & proper, in the course of the
day to be laid before the cabinet at such
this evening, at which time I have reques-
ted the several members to meet you - Mr. Johnson
has been telegraphed to be present at the time
referred to -

Washington City Truly yours

June 9th, 1850 -

Frem^{ont} J. Taylor

- 379 Washington, George. Document signed. Quarto.
October 6, 1777.

"By virtue of the power delegated to me by the Hon'ble the Continental Congress, I hereby authorize you to take all such Shoes, Stockings & Blankets as can possibly be spared by the Inhabitants of the Neighborhood of Bethlehem for the use of the Continental Army; the person appointed for this purpose to give certificates of the Quantity & Quality which will be paid for by the Clothier General at a reasonable price.

"To
"Brigadier General Woodford
"at Bethlehem"

"Given at Head Quarters
"October 6th, 1777
"GEO WASHINGTON"

- 380 Wayne, Anthony. Distinguished General of the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 3 pages. Headquarters, Detroit, September 5, 1796. To Major William Winston.

- 381 Wayne, Anthony. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Light-Infantry Camp, October 27, 1779. 2 o'clock, morning. To General Woodford.

With address, and seal in red wax.

- 382 Lincoln, Benjamin. Distinguished General of the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Charlestown, March 1780. With address.

Interesting letter relating to the siege of Charlestown.

- 383 Stirling, Alexander William. Earl of. Major-General in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Morris Town, October 27, 1779. To General Woodford.

"I wrote you yesterday evening, since which I have good reason to believe the Enemy have quited this State, and therefore must request you will not move further in consequence of the directions I sent you last night, untill you have his Excellency General Washington's direction. The Object of the Enemy seems to have been the burning a few flat bottomed boats we had at Raritan. They must surely be much afraid of our attacking them. Their expeditions appear to me almost as ridiculous as the famous Battle of the Kegs."

- 384 Waughe, A. "The Fighting Parson." Noted patriot of the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Port Royal, July 13, 1778. To General Woodford. With address.

Interesting letter imparting information of the movement of the enemy, etc., etc.

- 385 Lee, Henry. "Light-Horse Harry." General in the Revolutionary War. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Richmond, February 27, 1794. To Mr. Greenleaf.

Lafayette's Letter of thanks to the American people, and speaking of the wonderful achievements of Napoleon.

- 386 Lafayette, Marquis de. Distinguished General in the American Revolution. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 4 pages. La Grange, November 15, 1805. To James Madison.

In referring to the grant of land presented to him by Congress for his services in the Revolutionary War, he says: "I find that the Value of the Grant is far Superior to my Expectations and even to those which M. Jefferson, in his eager infinite kindness to me, had been led to conceive. It appears the pretention of the City to some part of the Ground, and that of M. John Gravier, are totally without any foundation, so that the last act of Congress so kindly directed in my favor had removed the only obstacle to the full execution of your kind intention in my behalf." * * * "The grateful feelings of my heart are above expression. I am proud of my obligations to the United States, to Congress, to the friends, and the friends who have so kindly planned, so happily effected this Restoration, and even increase of my family fortune. What we receive does exceed not only our expectations but our utmost wishes. It will propagate affluence through a tribe of offsprings who promise to be very numerous, and who will be equally happy in hereditary Sentiments of Gratitude. Be so good, my dear Madison, as to let me know as soon as you can that you have received this letter, which I hope will receive the President's approbation and yours.

"A letter of thanks has been sent by me to the Secretary at War—has this official tender of my Gratitude been presented to Congress, and through the papers to my American fellow-citizens?

"To your Diplomatic correspondence I refer you for European intelligence. The Prussian Power is no more. Every Prince of this side of the Vistule is depending on the Conqueror's nod for his Reward or Punishment. The French arms have been this fall more irresistible than ever. The European Continent will be, in the course of the Winter, new modelled as far as novelty can be produced in Royal moulds. My Son and Son-in-Law have hitherto been unhurt. The Achievements of this Campaign are truly marvellous."

See fac-simile of last page.

- 387 Paine, Thomas. Author of "Common Sense," etc. America's friend. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 3 pages. (Paris) 23 fromaire, year 10.

"Mr Livingston brought me a book from N. York. It is a collection [of] discourses preached by Elihu Palmer. He was a priest, but is now one of my converts, and has opened a meeting house at New York, to expose the lies of the Bible, and show it is a forgery."

Fine specimen.

- 388 Jefferson, Thomas. President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Washington, October 3, 1801.

Beautiful specimen.

Farragut as a Midshipman.

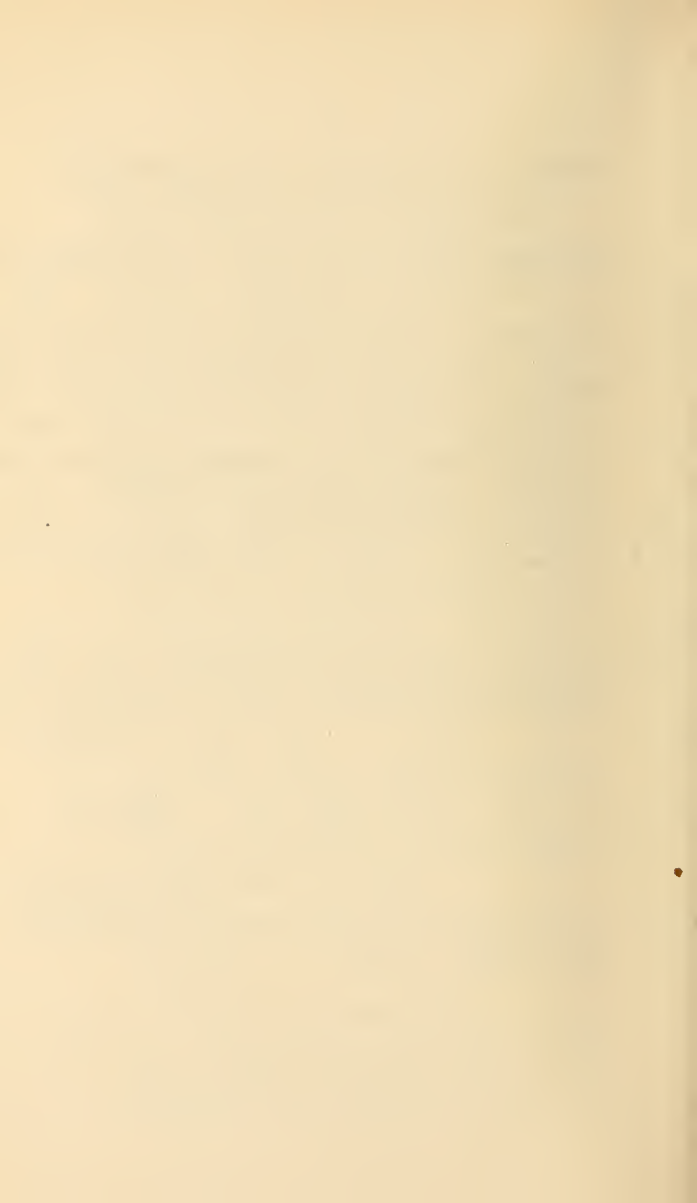
- 389 Farragut, David G. Commodore in the American Navy. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Boston, United States Ship "Washington," April 9, 1816.

Requesting that he be ordered to the "Macedonian," then putting out, as he would like to sail with Captain Warrington.

To your Diplomatic Correspondence I refer you for European
Intelligences — The Prussian Power is no more — Every Prince
of this Side of the Vistula is depending on the Conqueror's nod
for his Reward or Punishment — The French arms have been this
fall more irresistible than ever The European Continent will be
in the course of the Winter new modelled as far as novelty
can be produced in Royal moulds — My son and son in
Law have hitherto been unhurt — The Achievements of this
Campaign are truly Marvellous

Adieu, my Dear Sir, present my affectionate respects to our
Venerated beloved President; remember me with grateful attan-
chment to your Colleagues in the Cabinet, and believe me
for ever your affectionate obliged friend Lafayette

P.S. I see that agreeable to my Louisiana information, one
half of my pecuniary Liberation may be easily effected in
1807; the other half in 1808.



- 390 Morse, Samuel F. B. Inventor of the telegraph, and celebrated artist. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Boston, December 30, 1815. To Charles King. With address.

"I have been busily engaged since my return in fitting up rooms for myself. I have opened an Exhibition of 10 of my pictures, and have succeeded thus far beyond my expectations. I have got the first rooms in the U. States, (so all the painters say). My painting room is 19 feet long, 18 feet wide and 19 feet high, and my Exhibition Room, which is contiguous, is 19 feet every way; both rooms papered with grey paper; the light in my painting room about 4 feet square, and 9 feet from the ground in the north corner of the Room. Will you inform me what Mr Sully's prices are for portraits from $\frac{3}{4}$'s to whole length? And also your own?"

"There is much talk here of getting up an Academy of Arts. I hope it will not all end in talk; and I trust it will not. We shall strive hard to set it a going."

James Wilson's letter, on the sentiments of various States respecting the Federal Constitution.

- 391 Wilson, James. Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. Philadelphia, January 22, 1788. To Samuel Wallis. With address.

"Appearances with Regard to the new federal convention are very favourable on every side. Its Friends increase in Virginia. In Maryland, opposition has ceased almost everywhere. The Convention of Connecticut have adopted it by a majority of more than three to one. It is more than probable that, by this Time, it is adopted by the Convention of Massachusetts. It met on the 9th inst, and things wore then a favourable aspect. Mr. Hancock was chosen President—Some agreeable Pieces of Intelligence have been lately received from New York; but we know not what the Assembly will do, tho' there seems greater Reasons for Hope than for apprehension."

Fine specimen.

- 392 Wilson, James. Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Autograph Letter; signed. Quarto. December 16, 1793. To Samuel Wallis. With address.
- 393 Dayton, Jonathan. Signer of the Constitution. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Friday morning, (February, 1809). To Elias B. Dayton. With address.
- 394 Dickinson, John. Member of the Old Congress, opposed the Declaration of Independence. Signer of the Constitution, etc. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages, Philadelphia, July 10, 1784. To James Booth.

Although John Dickinson opposed the Declaration of Independence (fearing the strength of the country insufficient to take so important a stand), he was the only member of Congress to face the enemy a few days after the publication of the Declaration. He was also President of the State of Pennsylvania.

- 395 Dickinson, John. Member of the Old Congress, etc. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Wilmington, October 10, 1787. To Matthew Carey. With address.
- 396 Ross, George. Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Autograph Document, signed. Small quarto. To Edward Shippen.
- 397 Rittenhouse, David. Treasurer of Pennsylvania during the Revolution. First Director of the Mint. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. March 21, 1793. To Matthew Clarkson, Mayor. With address.
- * * * "Our Furnace at the Mint, for melting copper in large quantities, is in such a situation, on account of surrounding wooden Buildings, that I think it will not be safe to make use of it in the Summer season when all combustibles are dry, and, not knowing any plan more suitable and convenient, I am under the necessity of applying to the Mayor and Aldermen for permission, if it shall be thought proper, to erect a small temporary building and Furnace on the public Square at the North and Seventh Street. Your good offices in this matter will be gratefully acknowledged."
- 398 Barry, John. First commander in the United States navy. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Strawberry Hill, February 7, 1787. To Henry Mitchell.
- 399 Kinsey, James. Member of the Old Congress, and Chief Justice of New Jersey. Autograph Letter, signed twice. Quarto. July 29, 1789. To Thomas Rodman. With address.
- 400 Penn, William. Founder of Pennsylvania. Autograph Document, signed. Pennsbury, May 22, 1684. Small quarto. With impression of his seal in red wax.
- 401 Penn, John. Colonial Governor of Pennsylvania. Document, signed. Folio. Newcastle, October 21, 1774.
- Message to the Assembly in reference to the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland.
- 402 Penn, John. Proprietor of Pennsylvania. Autograph Letter, signed. (Signed also by Richard Penn). Folio. 3 pages. London, January 30, 1737.
- A long and interesting letter referring to Conrad Weiser's journey to the Five Nations of Indians, and to the boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland.
- 403 Barlow, Joel. American poet and patriot. Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo. No date.

- 404 **Fulton, Robert.** Inventor of the steamboat. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. New York, November 8, 1814. To Commodore Porter.

In the body of the letter is a draft for an improvement in the rigging of a vessel, and he says:—"I have opened this letter to beg of you when you return to New York to bring with you one of my fulminating torpedo locks which are in the possession of Mr Henry." * * * "My compliments to Mr Henry, tell him to persevere. Important events will result from *submarine explosions*."

- 405 **Fulton, Robert.** Inventor of the steamboat. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. New York, November 28, 1814. To Henry Baldwin, with address.
- 406 **Houston, Samuel.** President of the Republic of Texas. Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo. February 20, 1851.
- 407 **Davis, Jefferson.** President of the Confederacy. Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo.
- 408 **Porter, David.** Celebrated American Commodore. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Chester, September 21, 1810. To James Madison.
- 409 **Porter, David.** Celebrated American Commodore. Autograph Document, signed. (General order). On board the "Sea Gull," May 11, 1823.
- 410 **Decatur, Stephen.** Celebrated American Commodore. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. New York, March 22, 1815. To Commodore Porter.

"I have received your friendly letter & thank you for your attention, in the moment of my tribulation; you can judge of a man's feelings who has lost a ship, even altho' he has the proud consciousness of having discharged his duty well."

- 411 **Perry, Oliver Hazard.** Celebrated American Commodore. "The Hero of Lake Erie." Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. United States Steamer "Java." New York, December 22, 1815. To Commodore Porter.
- 412 **Bainbridge, William.** Celebrated American Commodore. Commanded the "Constitution." Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 4 pages. Boston, December 20, 1815. To David Porter.

Long and interesting letter to Commodore Porter, explaining his trouble with Captain Hull. * * * "I will here quit it, by saying that Capt. Hull and myself cannot be on friendly terms." * * *

- 413 **Jones, Thomas ap Catesby.** American Commodore. Letter, signed. Quarto. Callao Bay, May 10, 1826; Autograph Letter of Charles W. Goldsborough, quarto; and Autograph Letter, signed, of Commodore M. C. Perry. Quarto. 3 pieces.

- 414 Wirt, William. Eloquent American lawyer. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Washington, April 6, 1826.
- 415 Burr, Aaron. Vice-President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo. No date. To Colonel John Nicholson.
- 416 Hancock, John. President of the Continental Congress. First to sign the Declaration of Independence. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. Philadelphia, January 17, 1776. To the Committee of Trenton.
 "I have the honor of enclosing you sundry resolutions passed by Congress respecting the officers who are prisoners, you will please to have them immediately carried into execution." Etc.
- 417 Pendleton, Edmund. Delegate to the Continental Congress. President of the Virginia Convention, etc. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Williamsburg, December 22, 1775. To Colonels Howe and Woodford. With address.
- 418 Jay, John. Delegate to the Continental Congress, and President of Congress. Negotiated the Treaty with Great Britain. One of the editors of the "Federalist." Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Bristol, January 8, 1784. To Peter Verplanck.
- 419 Morris, Robert. Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Member of the Old Congress, etc. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. New York, February 5, 1790. To John Nicholson. With franked signature on address.
- 420 Thomson, Charles. First Secretary of Congress. Autograph Document, signed. Quarto. In Congress, November 30, 1779.
 Autograph copy of a Resolution.
- 421 Lafayette, Gilbert Motier, Marquis de. Celebrated General in the American Revolution. Autograph Letter, signed. Small quarto. With his seal, in red wax, of head of Washington.
- 422 Stockton, Richard. Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Delegate to the Continental Congress. Autograph Document, signed. Small quarto. May 5, 1772.
- 423 Report signed by Jared Ingersoll (signer of the Constitution), Miers Fisher and Samuel Powell, committee, relative to a bequest made by Doctor Benjamin Franklin to the City of Philadelphia. Quarto. Philadelphia, June 18, 1790.

- 424 Autographs of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, and scrap of writing by Alexander Hamilton. 3 pieces.
- 425 Marshall, John. Chief Justice of the United States. Author of the "Life of Washington," etc. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Richmond, May 21, 1831.
- 426 Putnam, Rufus. General in the Revolutionary War. Founder of the city of Marietta. Autograph Document, signed. Half of quarto sheet. Marietta, July 30, 1803.
Draft on the Bank of the United States for part of his salary as Surveyor-General of the United States.
- 427 Rodney, Cæsar A. Attorney-General of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Wilmington, March 26, 1804. To Samuel Carswell. With address.
"Mrs. Rodney presented me last Tuesday with a fine Boy."
- 428 Kinsey, James. Delegate to the Continental Congress, and Chief Justice of New Jersey. Autograph Opinion, signed. Folio. 2 pages. July 13, 1783.
- 429 McKean, Thomas. Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Delegate to the Continental Congress. Governor of Pennsylvania, etc. Document, signed, and partly filled in with his handwriting. Folio. May, 1761.

Alexander Wilson's description of his trip to Boston, the theatre of that city, etc.

- 430 Wilson, Alexander. Eminent American ornithologist. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 4 pages. Windsor, Vermont, October 26, 1808. To Mr. Daniel H. Miller. With address, and five portraits engraved by Baralet.

* * * "I also visited the theatre, where, besides Bainard, I found Mills, Rutherford, Taylor, Mrs. Mills, Mrs. Windham, Mrs. Cunningham, &c. The house is tolerably neat tho' far inferior to Philad'a Theatre. Between every scene the audience in the pit stand upon the seats and are very noisy—as soon as the next scene commences a roar of 'Down! Down! Off hats! Off hats!' rethunders through the house. I thought Bainard very insipid. Mrs. Windham is the great favorite here at present."

- 431 Dupont, Samuel Francis. Rear-Admiral in the United States navy during the Civil War. Autograph Letter, signed twice, (once with initials). Small quarto. 3 pages. Louviers, April 15. (Circa, 1855). To Hon. John M. Clayton.

* * * "I hear old Sam Houston has been prowling about the Navy Department, to find material wherewith to make another attack upon me." Etc.

- 432 **Ferry, Orris S.** Brigadier-General in the Army of the United States during the Civil War. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Head-Quarters, Pottsville, March 25, 1864. To Major D. Taggart.
- 433 **Dana, Napoleon J. T.** Brigadier-General in the United States Army during the Civil War. Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo. Head-Quarters, Texas, Matagorda Bay, January 26, 1864. To Major David Taggart.
- 434 **Meagher, Thomas Francis.** Escaped from the British Penal Colony, Australia, to which he had been transported for treason. Escaped to the United States and commanded the celebrated "Irish Brigade" in the Civil War. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. New York, December 6, 1861. To William McGarahan.
- 435 **Baker, Edward Dickinson.** Colonel of the Seventy-first Pennsylvania Regiment. Killed at the Battle of Balls Bluff. Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo. Washington, December 1, 1849. To Hon. John M. Clayton.
Fine specimen. Rare.
- 436 **Muhlenberg, Frederick Augustus.** Delegate to the Continental Congress. Member and Speaker of the First Congress. Letter, signed. Quarto. Philadelphia, March 3, 1791. To the Mayor of the Corporation of the City of Philadelphia.
- 437 **Peter, Richard.** Delegate to the Continental Congress. Judge of the District Court of Pennsylvania. Autograph letter, signed. Quarto. War Office, March 21, 1781. To Thomas Smith. With address.
In reference to the payment of the Pennsylvania troops.
- 438 **Dickinson, Jonathan.** Early Mayor of Philadelphia. Document, signed. With corporate seal of Philadelphia. Folio. December 16, 1718.
- 439 **Ingersoll, Charles J.** Author of the "History of the Second War with Great Britain." Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 8 pages. Washington, March 9, 1844. To John Binns.
Advocating the holding of meetings throughout Ireland to agitate the repeal of the Union with Great Britain.
- 440 **Warton, Joseph.** English poet and critic. Editor of Pope's Works. Autograph Document, signed. Quarto. January 18, 1782. To James Dodsley.
Receipt for moneys paid for copyright for two works written by Mrs. Jane Warton.

- 441 **White, William.** First Bishop of Pennsylvania. Document signed. Quarto. January 6, 1797.
Certificate, to Francis Gurney, of life membership in the Sunday-School Society of Philadelphia.
- 442 **Mifflin, Thomas.** Governor of Pennsylvania. Letter signed. Folio. Philadelphia, October 3, 1791. To the Mayor, etc., of Philadelphia. With address.
Letter from the Governor requesting an account of disbursements made for the accommodations of the President of the United States (George Washington) and members of Congress.
- 443 **Early New Jersey Indian Deed.** Small quarto. Dated May 25, 1713. Ceding lands to the Robert Rhe for the Governor and Proprietors of the Province of East New Jersey. Signed by three Indian Chiefs (with their totems) and the Commissioners.
- 444 **Logan, James.** Colonial Governor of Pennsylvania. Owned the largest library in America. Parchment Document, signed. Folio. April 16, 1781. Signed also by Thomas Griffith, Thomas Broadgate and Isaac Norris, Jr.

Jeff. Davis as a Soldier.

- 445 **Davis, Jefferson.** President of the Confederate States of America. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 4 pages. Monterey, January 26, 1847. To his brother.
A long and interesting letter written from the field of battle, criticising General Scott's movements, imparting information in reference to General Taylor's command, and regretting that he cannot participate in every battle to be fought.
- 446 **Penn, William.** Founder of Pennsylvania. Parchment Document, signed. Folio. April 12, 1684.
Early Pennsylvania deed. Fine specimen.
- 447 **Logan, James.** Colonial Governor of Pennsylvania. Parchment Document, signed. Folio. January 12, 1704. Signed also by Edward Shippen, first Mayor of Philadelphia, and Thomas Story.
- 448 **Hamilton, James.** Colonial Governor of Pennsylvania. Parchment Document, signed. Folio. August 21, 1752.
- 449 **Thomas, Sir George.** Colonial Governor of Pennsylvania. Parchment Document, signed. Folio. October 8, 1746.
- 450 **Letter of invitation to James N. Barker, to participate in the ceremony of General Lafayette's reception at Philadelphia, September 28, 1824.** Also an invitation to the dinner to him. Signed by Joseph S. Lewis. Quarto.

- 451 **Chew, Benjamin.** President of the High Court of Appeal of Pennsylvania. Document, signed. Folio. Philadelphia, December 4, 1773. Signed also by Thomas Willing, Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.
- 452 **Yeates, Jasper.** Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 2 pages. Lancaster, May 21, 1815. To Redmond Conyngham, Luzerne Co., Pa.
- 453 **Hendricks, Thomas A.** Vice-President of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo. Indianapolis, November 11, 1870.
- 454 **Cameron, Simon.** United States Senator from Pennsylvania. Autograph Letters, signed. Quarto. January 8, 1827, and Middletown, December 22, 1833. 2 pieces.
 "The Job is an important one, and will afford profit enough if well arranged to make all our fortunes," referring to the building of the Potomac bridge. * * * "The Senate have passed a Bill doubling the number of Pamphlet Laws, and I presume it will pass the other House." * * * "I presume too there will be about 100 reams more demi wanted." Addressed to John Snyder, Paper Mills, Selin's Grove, Pennsylvania.
- 455 **Brownlow, William G. (Parson).** East Tennessee. Loyalist during the Rebellion. Autograph Letter, signed. Folio. 4 pages. Cincinnati, December 8, 1862. To the editor of "The Press." (Cut in five pieces.)
 Highly interesting letter urging a winter campaign.
- 456 **Brownlow, William G. (Parson).** Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo. 4 pages. Crosswicks, N. J., May 3, 1862. To the editor of "The Press."
 On the Southern Confederacy.
- 457 **Siegel, Franz.** Brigadier-General in the United States Army during the Rebellion. Autograph Letters, signed. Quarto. November 6, 1863, November 16, 1863, and February 1, 1864. 3 pieces.
 One letter is in German.
- 458 **Biddle, Nicholas.** President of the Bank of the United States. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Philadelphia, February 21, 1834.
- 459 **Seward, William H.** Secretary of State under Lincoln. Autograph Letters, signed. Quarto and octavo. Various dates. 4 pieces.
- 460 **Clay, Henry.** Eminent Statesman. Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. Washington, March 11, 1841, and Newport, August 20, 1849. 2 pieces.

- 461 **Spinner, Francis E. Treasurer of the United States.** Autograph Letter, signed. Quarto. 2 pages. Washington, March 24, 1868. To Doctor William Elder.
- 462 **McClellan, George B. Major-General in the United States army.** Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo. 2 pages. New York, June 8, 1863. To Hon. S. S. Cox.
Declining a nomination for Governor of Ohio. With the letter is included a McClellan and Pendleton badge.
- 463 **Sumner, Charles. Eminent Statesman.** Autograph Letters, signed. Quarto and octavo. Various dates. 3 pieces.
- 464 **Cobden, Richard. Eminent English Statesman.** Autograph Letter, signed. Small octavo. Westminster, June 16. [No year].
- 465 **Bright, John. Eminent English Statesman.** Autograph Letter, signed. Small octavo. 3 pages. Rochdale, February 1, 1864.
- 466 **Béranger, Pierre Jean de. Celebrated French lyric poet.** Autograph Letter, signed. Octavo. 3 pages. [No place; no date].
- 467 **Cut Autographs.** Including that of Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, James Monroe, James Madison, John Tyler, James K. Polk, James Buchanan, Martin Van Buren, General U. S. Grant, Robert Morris, Thomas McKean, John Dickinson, Robert Proud, Jefferson Davis, Sam Houston, George G. Meade and others. 42 pieces.
- 468 **Twenty-five Autograph Letters, etc.:—**Bishop William B. Stevens, Bishop Alonzo Potter, Bishop J. H. Hobart, Benjamin Rush, signer of the Declaration of Independence; James Logan, Josiah Quincy, Charles O'Connor, the great lawyer; Peter S. DuPonceau and others.
- 469 **Fifteen Autograph Letters, etc.:—**George Wolf, Governor of Pennsylvania; James Pollock, Governor of Pennsylvania; Judge James Kent, J. J. Crittenden, John Covode, John Forsyth, Secretary of War, and others.
- 470 **Fifteen Autograph Letters, etc.:—**John H. Eaton, Secretary of War; Lewis Cass, John M. Berrien, John B. Gibson, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, and others.

- 471 **Fifteen Autograph Letters, etc.:**—Joseph Ritner, Governor of Pennsylvania; C. J. Ingersoll, R. T. Conrad, Mayor of Philadelphia; Commodore Charles Wilkes and others.
- 472 **Fifteen Autograph Letters, etc.:**—Daniel Webster, Reverdy Johnson, Salmon P. Chase, General David Hunter, Alexander H. Stephens, Thomas Cadwallader and others.
- 473 **Fifteen Autograph Letters, etc.:**—Horace Binney, S. P. Chase, General Robert Patterson, Henry A. Wise, Governor of Virginia; Joseph Delaplaine, Louis Agassiz, the naturalist; Commodore Jesse D. Elliott and others.
- 474 **Scrap-Book of Colonial, Continental and Confederate Notes:** 4 Continental Notes, 12 Colonial Notes and 8 Confederate Notes, of various denominations; in all 24 pieces.
- 475 **Historical Scrap-Book:**—Containing two documents, signed by James Hamilton, Colonial Governor of Pennsylvania; an original poem by James J. Jackson, the assassin of Colonel Ellsworth; autograph letter, signed, of Tench Coxe, Washington's aide; autograph letter, signed, of Jared Ingersoll, member of the Old Congress; signatures of William Denny, William Forbes, Lord Mayor of London; Thomas Willing, Benjamin Chew, Arthur Middleton, signer of the Declaration of Independence; William Budgen, Lord Mayor of London, and John Sergeant; seals of the United Irishmen, in 1798, and various other interesting relics of Colonial times and the War of 1812.
- 476 **Journal of Margaret C. Drane, commenced in Boston, January, 1840, and ending at Fort Mifflin, March 27, 1843.** Quarto, half roan.
- 477 **Washington, General George. Letter, signed.** Quarto. Mount Vernon, March 12, 1789.

A business affair.

The anonymous letters sent to General Washington by Joseph Ravara, Consul from Genoa, for the purpose of extorting money.

- 478 Ravara, Joseph. Consul from Genoa. Anonymous letters by, to the President of the United States, the English Ambassador, and the Post-office. Quarto and folio. Also the copy of the commission of Ravara, signed by Thomas Jefferson; and the notes of the hearing before the Magistrate and at the trial, taken by Hilary Baker; also the deposition of John Baptist Gillioux, his accomplice.

Through these letters the writer (Joseph Ravara) tried to induce General Washington and the British Consul to lend him a sum of money, and threatened to commit all sorts of crimes, as well as inflict bodily injury, if they did not comply with his request. Washington was requested to send the money in a letter to the Post-office, directed to "Miranda" and "Fagot," and not to inquire into the identity of the writer. The letters are dated Philadelphia, May 10, 12 and 14, 1793. On the back of one, that was addressed to Washington, Tobias Lear has written: "This letter was brought from the Post-Office and delivered to the President on Thursday, the 9th inst—T. Lear." The culprit was apprehended through the arrest of John Baptist Gillioux, hair dresser, who had been employed by Mr. Ravara to go to the Post-office for the letter he expected the President of the United States would send there for him; a fact which is borne out by Mr. Gillioux's deposition, and acknowledged to by Ravara, although he denied that he was the writer, "but was only performing a friendly act for a stranger who represented himself as a foreign diplomat who did not wish to be known."

The letters are curious, the spelling, bad; the writing in script and block-letter, and together certainly form a very interesting historical curiosity.

BOOKS

From General Washington's Library.

WASHINGTON'S COPY OF "SIMES'S MILITARY COURSE."

- 479 A Military Course for the Government and Conduct of a Battalion: designed for their Regulations in Quarter, Camp or Garrison: with useful Observations and Instructions for their Manner of Attack and Defense; ornamented with a frontispiece and twenty copperplate plans (in colors). By Thomas Simes, Esq. Octavo. Contemporary calf binding. London, 1777.

From the library of General George Washington, with his autograph on title-page, and presentation on fly leaf:—"For his Excellency General Washington, from his Ob't Humble Servant, William McCreery, Bordeaux, 22 Feb. 1778." This volume appears in the inventory of the Mount Vernon library, as made by Edward Everett, and is accompanied with a certificate of genuineness by Lawrence Washington, who inherited the same, in a direct line, from General Washington.

A more desirable volume than this from the Mount Vernon library cannot be found, as from the character of the work it is not unlikely that Washington gave its contents more study than any of the large number of his books. It is also interesting from the fact of it being a gift on his birthday, February 22, 1778, from the Minister at Bordeaux.

WASHINGTON'S COPY OF "LORD NORTH'S ADMINISTRATION."

- 480 A View of the History of Great Britain, during the Administration of Lord North, to the Second Session of the Fifteenth Parliament: in two parts, with statements of the public expenditure in that period. 2 parts in 1 volume. Octavo. Contemporary calf binding.

G. Wilkie, London, 1772.

From the library of General George Washington, with his autograph on title-page, and his book-plate. This volume is mentioned in the list of books forming the library at Mount Vernon, as printed in Everett's "Life of Washington," and is accompanied with a certificate of genuineness from Lawrence Washington.

The book is actually one of the *earliest histories of the American Revolution*, as the work details the occurrences anterior to and during that mighty struggle, down to the surrender of Cornwallis.

PAGE 208—"Congress being soon after re-assembled now began to assume the executive powers of government, and appointed *Mr. George Washington* (a native of Virginia, and possessed of landed property there to the amount of 5000*£*. per annum), commander in chief of their forces. This gentleman had been trained to arms from his youth; but few opportunities had occurred in which he could gain military renown. His first exploit in arms, about the year 1754, proved unfortunate, but not disgraceful. The Americans esteemed the man, because they believed him to be as much distinguished by his personal virtues and talents, as by his fortune."

G. Washington

A
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OF A
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For their REGULATIONS in QUARTER,
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OBSERVATIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS.
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Late of the QUEEN'S Royal Regiment, Author of the Military
Guide, &c. Governor of the HIBERNIAN Society for the
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M.DCC.LXXVII.

G. W. W. W.

A

V I E W

OF THE

H I S T O R Y

OF

G R E A T - B R I T A I N,

DURING THE

ADMINISTRATION

O F

L O R D N O R T H,

T O T H E

SECOND SESSION OF THE FIFTEENTH
PARLIAMENT.

I N T W O P A R T S.

WITH STATEMENTS OF THE PUBLIC EX-
PENDITURE IN THAT PERIOD.

— *Merito civilibus undis.* HOR.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR G. WILKIE, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD,
MDCCLXXXII.

- 481 **Attorneys' Complete Pocket-Book:** containing above Four hundred of such choice and approved Precedents in Law, Equity and Conveyancing, as an Attorney may have occasion for when absent from his office. 2 volumes. Post. Octavo. Contemporary calf.

London, 1767.

From the library of General George Washington, and is enumerated in the inventory of his personal effects. Has in each volume the autograph of Bushrod Washington, who inherited it from the General's estate. Accompanied with Lawrence Washington's certificate of genuineness.

- 482 **A Narrative of the British Embassy to China, in the years 1792, 1793 and 1794.** By Æneas Anderson. 12mo. Contemporary sheep. New York, 1794.

From the library of General George Washington, and is enumerated in the inventory of his personal effects; also mentioned as being purchased for Mrs. Martha Washington, in the journal (kept by B. Dandridge) of Washington's expenses during his second term as President, under date of January 3, 1796. Accompanied with Lawrence Washington's certificate of genuineness.

- 483 **The Law Against Bankruptcy: or, a Treatise wherein the Statutes against Bankrupts are Explained, etc.** Post. Octavo. Contemporary calf. London, 1704.

From the library of General George Washington, and was purchased by him at the sale of the effects of W. Fairfax, whose estate he settled. Has autograph of Mr. Fairfax on fly-leaf and on title-page. Accompanied with Lawrence Washington's certificate of genuineness.

- 484 **Travels in Norway, Denmark and Russia, in the years 1788, 1789, 1790 and 1791.** By A. Swinton. With engraved view of the equestrian statue of Peter the Great. Octavo. Contemporary calf. London, 1792.

From the library of General George Washington, and also contains the autograph of Bushrod Washington, who inherited it from the General's estate. Accompanied with Lawrence Washington's certificate of genuineness.

- 485 **Poems, by J. Aikin, M.D.** Octavo, large paper, uncut. Original boards. London, 1791.

From the library of General George Washington. Enumerated in the inventory of his personal effects. Accompanied with Lawrence Washington's certificate of genuineness. A presentation copy from the author.

This little volume contains, at page 76, a sonnet "To his Excellency, George Washington":—

"Point of that *Pyramid*, whose solid base
Rests firmly in a nation's trust,
Which, while the gorgeous palace sinks in dust,
Shall stand sublime, and fill its ample space;
Elected chief of Freemen; greater far
Than kings whose glittering parts are fix'd by birth;
Nam'd by thy country's voice, for long tried worth,
Her crown in Peace, as once her shield in War.
Deign, WASHINGTON: to-hear a British lyre,
That ardent greets thee with applausive lays,
And to the *Patriot Hero* homage pays.
O, would the muse immortal strains inspire,
That high, beyond all Greek and Roman fame,
Might soar to times unborn thy purer, nobler name!"

- 486 **The Family Physician and the House-Apothecary.** By Gideon Harvey, M.D. 16mo. Contemporary calf. London, 1678.

From the library of John Custis, father-in-law of Mrs. Martha Washington; with his autograph on the title page.

This volume, no doubt, at one time rested on the shelves in the library of General Washington, at Mount Vernon.

RELICS.

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S FOWLING-PIECE.

- 487 **A single-barrel shotgun, flint-lock, of unusual length and bore.** *In first-rate order.* Made by Wilson, of London.

This interesting relic was, no doubt, used by General Washington in gunning for ducks and game of a like sort: the barrel is unusually long, and somewhat resembles the famous Kentucky rifle of Revolutionary times. The lock is a little out of order, but the gun, as a whole, is in as good condition as could be expected, not having been used for nearly a century.

Accompanied with a certificate of it being genuine, from H. L. D. Lewis, who inherited it from his grandfather, Lawrence Lewis, Washington's favorite nephew, and husband of Nellie Custis, Washington's adopted daughter.

NELLIE CUSTIS'S HOCK GLASSES.

- 488 **Six purple-colored hock glasses.**

Belonged to Nellie Custis, Washington's adopted daughter, and wife of Lawrence Lewis. No doubt they were presented to her by her adopted father. Accompanied with a certificate of genuineness, by H. L. D. Lewis, grandson of Nellie Custis.

COMMUNION CHALICES FROM WASHINGTON'S CHURCH.

- 489 **Two silver-plated chalices, used for communion service at Christ Church, Alexandria, Virginia, Washington's place of worship.**

These chalices are very fine specimens of early American repoussé work. On one side (in high relief) is a view of Mount Vernon, and on the other side a view of Christ Church, Alexandria. They were evidently in use during Washington's lifetime, as he was one of the vestrymen of Christ Church, owned a pew, and occupied it invariably after 1783, until his death. They were no doubt abstracted from the church during the late Civil War.

See plate.





Lot No. 490.

WASHINGTON'S LAMP.

- 490 Old English silver-plated (on copper) study-lamp, urn shape, Pompeiian design, with handles.
See plate.

WASHINGTON'S KNEE-BUCKLES.

- 491 Pair of beautiful knee-buckles, each encircled with fifty-two brilliants, mounted in silver. Inlaid with gold and enamel work.

Both the Study-Lamp and Kneec-Buckles were inherited by H. S. Stabler, from General Washington's effects in the following manner: Mrs. Betty Lewis was Betty Washington, General Washington's sister. These relics came from her to Otwayanna Carter, her grandmother, who married Dr. W. O. Owen, of Lynchburg; from Dr. Owen they were bequeathed to Jennie Woodville Latham, his adopted daughter, who married Thomas S. Stabler, the father of H. S. Stabler, and were inherited by him from his father's estate.

A certificate of authenticity will accompany each lot.

MARTHA WASHINGTON'S FRUIT STAND.

- 492 A beautiful French china comport, or fruit stand, decorated in gold and colors. The centre being a star with refulgent rays in gold; in the body of the star is the monogram, in green, "M. W.," under which is the motto, "DECUS ET TUTAMEN AB ILLO." On the inner margin are fifteen dark-green links, connected with fifteen small links; in the centre of each of the large links is the name of one of the fifteen States. The outer edge is encircled by a snake in dark-blue and gold, the mouth holding the tail.

Martha Washington was presented with a set of this chinaware by General Lafayette; a very few pieces of it remain, and these are much sought after by collectors.

WASHINGTON-FRANKLIN CUP.

- 493 Royal Dresden china cup and saucer, exquisite in design; bleu-du-roi background, decorated with gold gilt, with handle; bust of Washington on one side; bust of Franklin on the other, and eagle with spread wings with a scroll, upon which is the lettering, "E Pluribus Unum," on the front.

Made about 1790 in honor of General Washington and Benjamin Franklin. The only other known specimen is in the "Prime" collection, and not equal to this.

See plate.

“THE PROSCRIBED PATRIOTS” PITCHER.

- 494 A large water-pitcher, Liverpool ware, decorated on one side with portraits of Samuel Adams and John Hancock; a monument to the memory of Washington, a bee-hive, and a cornucopia, surrounded with the mottoes:—“The Memory of Washington and the Proscribed Patriots of America.” “Liberty, Virtue, Peace, Justice and Equality to all Mankind.” “Columbia’s Sons Inspired by Freedom’s Flame, Live in the Annals of Immortal Fame.” On the other side a full-rigged ship, flying the American flag: In the front, a shield and an eagle with outspread wings, surrounded with stars, and the motto:—“Peace, Commerce and Honest Friendship with all Nations—Entangling Alliances with None.—Jefferson, Anno Domini, 1804.”

Very rare. In excellent order.

WASHINGTON PITCHER.

- 495 Small Parian pitcher, with full-length figures, in relief, of Washington: one—taking leave of his mother, and the other in full military uniform.

Not known to collectors.

MANLY WASHINGTON MEDAL.

- 496 Bronze medal: obverse—bust of Washington (after the Wright portrait), “George Washington, born Virginia, February 11, 1732”; reverse—“General of the American Armies, 1775—Resigned, 1783; President of the United States, 1789.” “Manly,* 1790.” One and seven-eighths inches in diameter.

Very rare. The first Washington medal made in America.

GOLD WASHINGTON-JACKSON MEDAL.

- 497 Gold medal; obverse—bust of Washington; reverse—bust of Andrew Jackson. Neatly mounted between crystals; bound with gold, and ring pendant.

Private medal. Very rare.

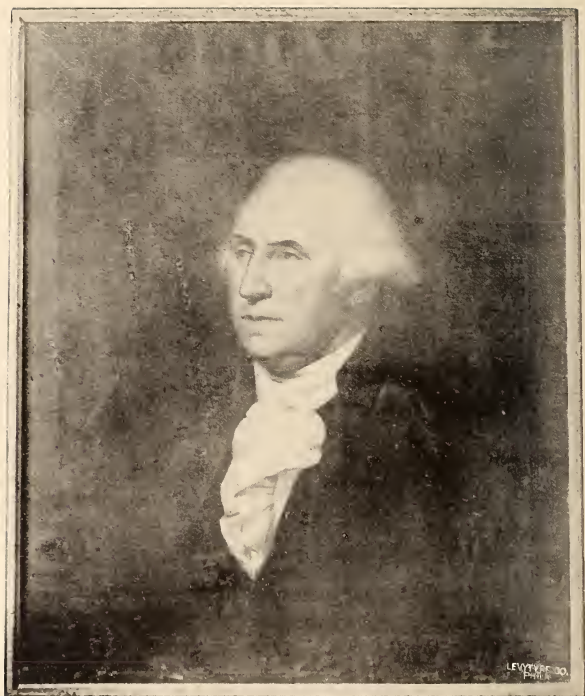
CONFEDERATE SWORD.

- 498 Sword carried by an officer in the Confederate navy. Made by Firmin & Sons, London. Brass hilt, shark’s skin handle, with engravings of Confederate flag, munitions of war, cotton and tobacco plants, on blade.

Very rare, and in fine order. A few only made,



LOT No. 493.



BY CHARLES WILLSON PEALE.

LOG-BOOK OF THE CONFEDERATE STEAMER "FLORIDA."

- 499 The original log-book, from January 9 to August 13, 1864, of the Confederate steamer "Florida," commanded by C. M. Morris. The log written by G. D. Bryan. 220 pages. Folio. Half sheep.

Gives very interesting accounts of her cruising in search of Union vessels, and narrates the capture of several. The log stops very abruptly on August 13, 1864, when the vessel was evidently overtaken by a Union cruiser, captured and probably sunk, as this book has been water-soaked.

- 500 Thompson, Hon. J. Autograph Letter, signed (in pencil on silk). Small quarto. January 8, 1865. To Honorable J. P. Benjamin.

A curious relic, written on silk. Relates to the St. Alban raiders.

- 501 Confederate navy buttons. 17 pieces.

- 502 Confederate army button.

A staff button from the coat of General R. E. Lee.

- 503 Eighteen photographic portraits of Confederate officers. Carte-de-visite size.

PORTRAITS.

PEALE'S PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.

- 504 Life-size oil portrait of General George Washington, painted by Charles Willson Peale.

This portrait bears unmistakable evidence of having emanated from the brush of Charles Willson Peale. It was purchased at the sale of the effects of Colonel John Custis Wilson, of Maryland. Mr. Peale, somewhere between 1810 and 1820, went to the residence of Mr. Wilson to paint some family portraits, and he evidently painted this portrait at the same time.

See plate.

STUART'S OIL PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.

- 505 Life-size oil portrait of General George Washington, painted by Gilbert Stuart.

This portrait, which is a very striking and characteristic portrayal of the beloved face of our venerated Washington, is reasonably attributed to Gilbert Stuart. We can say, earnestly, that a glance at the painting will convince any one that it is the work of a master, and conveys a very pleasing impression of the likeness of the man, as painted by the great artist.

CHINESE PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.

- 506 Life-size oil portrait of General George Washington, painted, from Stuart's portrait, by a Chinese artist.

Very rare. Painted on glass. The only other known copy is now in the possession of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. This copy is said to have been at one time the property of Thomas Jefferson.

WATER-COLOR PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.

- 507 Portrait of General George Washington, beautifully painted in water-colors, after the original by Rembrandt Peale.

A very clever and pleasing portrait, as well as a copy of one of the few portraits of Washington in military costume.

ROBERTS'S ENGRAVED PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.

- 508 Portrait of General George Washington. Engraved in mezzotint, by John Roberts, from a miniature by Trott, after Stuart's portrait. Octavo. (See Baker, 314).

Exceedingly scarce; only one other impression known of, and that in the possession of Mr. W. S. Baker, of Philadelphia. After a few impressions were taken the plate was defaced by the engraver. It is now one of the rarest of Washington portraits.

LEFORT'S ETCHING OF WASHINGTON.

- 509 Life-size portrait of General George Washington. Etched by Lefort, of Paris, from the Stuart portrait in the Boston Athenæum; Remarqué proof on India paper; with signature. Paris, 1881.

This magnificent etching, in its depth of tone and boldness of execution, leaves nothing to be desired. It is by far the best reproduction of Stuart's celebrated portrait.

WASHINGTON AS A MASON.

- 510 Original painting in black-and-white of a full-length portrait of General George Washington, attired as a mason. In emblematic gilt frame. Size, 13x10 inches.

This painting was executed about 1810, and is the original from which the engraving was made.

- 511 Portrait of General George Washington. Full length, after Stuart's Lansdowne portrait. Stipple.

Very curious. Supposed to be by Yeager. In the engraving the figure of Washington is frightfully proportioned.



NINI'S PLAQUE.

- 512 Allegorical print—"To the Memory of George Washington and his Lady."—Drawn on stone by A. Huffy; lithographed by P. S. Duval, and published by T. Sullivan, Philadelphia, 1840.
- 513 Oil portrait of General Andrew Jackson. Full length, with left arm resting on horse.
A curious work of art.
- 514 Portrait of Honorable Augustus Keppel. Mezzotint, after J. Reynolds. By Edward Fisher.
A contemporary transfer on glass, in original frame. Very rare.
- 515 Rare engraving—"The American Star," embodying a beautiful portrait, in stipple, of Washington, Jefferson, John Adams and Madison, surrounded with drapery and flags. Designed and engraved by Thomas Gimbrede. Printed by Andrew Maverick, New York, January 30, 1812. Full margin.

THE NINI FRANKLIN PLACQUE.

- 516 A beautiful circular terra-cotta plaque, with bust of Franklin in high relief, designed and sculptured by the artist Nini, in 1777, after the Houdin portrait.
Exceedingly scarce. Size four and a-half inches in diameter.

FRANKLIN'S COMPOSING STAND.

- 517 The composing stand used by Benjamin Franklin, during his career as a compositor and publisher.

This interesting relic of Dr. Franklin, has a printed label pasted on the side (but which has been partially scraped off) which reads:

CAUTION.

All you that [come] this curious *Art* to see,
So handle a[nd you] must cautious be,
Lest by a [slip] ere you are aware,
That misch[ief will be] done you can't repair;
Lo ! this a[dvice I] *give* to every *stranger*,
Look on an[d see] me, but to touch there's danger."

This stand was purchased by Joseph Rakestraw about 1804, at the sale of the effects of the printing establishment of Hall & Sellers, successors to Benjamin Franklin, and at the death of Rakestraw, who carried on the business for many years at 402 Appletree alley (now street) until 1860, it was purchased by the late William K. Bellows, who continued the business at the same place until his death in 1890.

EARLY AMERICAN LOTTERY TICKETS.

- 518 A collection of early and rare American lottery tickets, viz: "Connecticut Lottery for the Benefit of the College of New Jersey, 1753,"—signed by John Lloyd; "New Jersey College Lottery, 1763,"—signed by William Smith; "Conestogæ Bridge Lottery, 1761,"—signed by Joseph Simon; "Lottery for Paving Philadelphia Streets, 1761,"—signed by Thomas Riche; "Delaware Lottery, 1772,"—signed by Lord Stirling; "The Petties-Island Mill and Cash Lottery, 1773,"—signed by John Douglass; "St. Thomas' Church Lottery, Alexandria, 1773,"—signed by R. Stevens; "United States Lottery, Philadelphia, November 18, 1776,"—signed by Y. Searle, (2 pieces); "United States Lottery, Philadelphia, November 18, 1776,"—signed by R. Ritchie; "Lottery Authorized by Law of the State of Pennsylvania, for the Schuylkill and Susquehanna, and Delaware and Schuylkill Canals, May 18, 1795,"—signed by T. Matlack and W. M. Smith; and "Washington City Canal Lottery,"—signed by Daniel Carroll. 12 pieces.

FIRST KINDERGARTEN USED IN AMERICA.

- 519 Johnson's Kindergarten: comprising fifty-four sheets of engravings, embracing 342 different subjects, for the education of children. Two small volumes containing "The Mother's Remarks," on a set of cuts for children; another small volume, being a dictionary or index to a set of cuts for children; an advertisement of the same in pamphlet form, and four sheets of letters of the alphabet, etc., all encased in a neat box. The whole published by Jacob Johnson, 147 Market street, Philadelphia, 1804.

Probably the only perfect one in existence. This one has never been used.

RARE FRANKLIN IMPRINT.

- 520 Increase Mather's Soul-Saving Gospel Truths. 16mo. Original calf. Philadelphia. Printed by Benjamin Franklin, 1743.

A good copy, with the exception of the outer edge of the title-page which has been cut off.

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